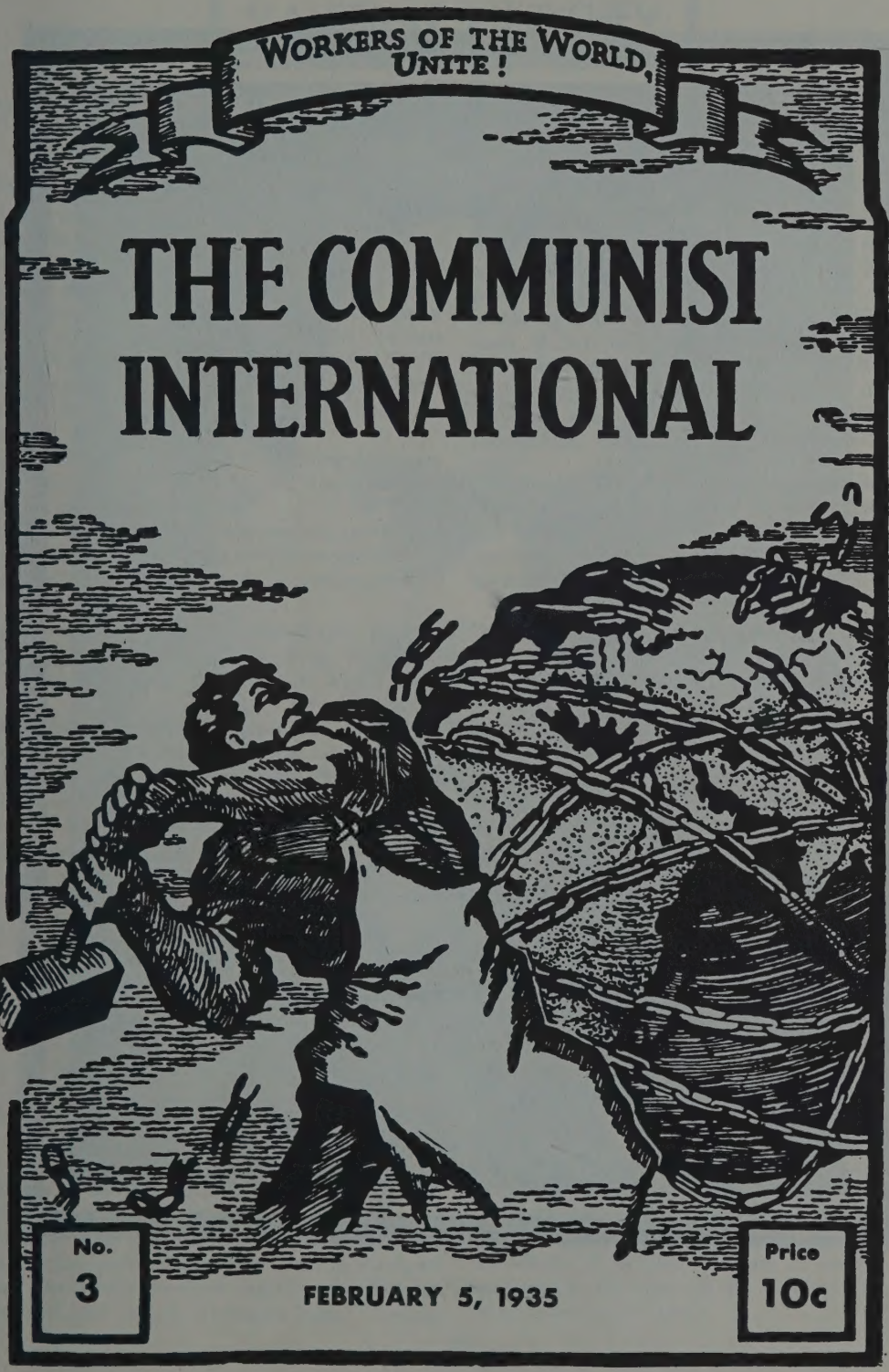
The Zinoviev Opposition
A Year of Great Advances
On the 8th Convention Manifesto



VALERIAN KUIBYSHEV

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE C.P.S.U. REGARDING THE DEATH OF COMRADE KUIBYSHEV

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party informs with deep sorrow the Party and working class and all toilers of the Soviet country and of the whole world that Valerian Kuibyshev, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Assistant Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Chairman of the Commission for Soviet Control attached to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R., died of heart sclerosis on January 25 at 2:30 P. M.

Comrade Kuibyshev died at his fighting post, continuing the strain of great State and Party work up to the last moment of his life.

Comrade Kuibyshev was an examplary proletarian revolutionist, a follower of Lenin, irreconcilable towards enemies of the Party and the working class, a self-sacrificing fighter for the cause of Communism.

His revolutionary activities commenced in the period of the first Russian Revolution. In the course of his fighting Bolshevist work Comrade Kuibyshev passed through Tsarist prisons and exiles as a self-sacrificing fighter for the Leninist Party. During the years of civil war Comrade Kuibyshev was one of the most prominent political leaders of the Red Army. As the biggest organizer and leader of the Soviet State and economic reconstruction, Comrade Kuibyshev devoted all his energy to the cause of Socialism.

Comrade Kuibyshev's boundless devotion to the Party, his untiring work for the welfare of the toilers, will serve as an example to millions of proletarians and toilers in their great struggle for the triumph of Socialism.

STALIN, MOLOTOV, VOROSHILOV, KAGANOVICH, KALININ, ORJONIKIDZE, ZHDANOV AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U., IN OBITUARY OF THE MEMORY OF KUIBYSHEV:

OUR Party has suffered a great loss. Death has torn one of the most prominent leaders, a fine comrade and close friend, from the fighting staff of the Party.

Valerian Kuibyshev fought from earliest years under the great banner of Lenin. With untiring hands he worked stubbornly both when the Bolsheviks were an underground Party and at the front of the Civil War, and in important sectors of Socialist construction. As early as 1905 in St. Petersburg, Comrade Kuibyshev actively participated in the Revolution as a Bolshevik. Then he worked in the Bolshevik organization in Siberia as a professional revolutionary. In intervals between repeated terms of imprisonment and exile he conducted leading Party work in the Bolshevik organization in St. Petersburg.

The February Revolution found Comrade Kuibyshev again on the road to exile in the Turukhanski Region. Comrade Kuibyshev was an organizer of the Bolsheviks in Samara, and their leader during the October Revolution.

Comrade Kuibyshev was one of the most prominent political leaders of the Red Army in the fights against the Czechoslovakian legions and Kolchak troups and later on the Turkistan front. Tireless, accurate in work, boundlessly loyal to the cause of the proletarian revolution, he was a model outstanding Bolshevik statesman.

Comrade Kuibyshev was President of the Central Control Commission—Workers' and Peasants' Inspection—which was reorganized according to the directions of Lenin. He conducted a consistent and irreconcilable struggle against all deviations from the general line of the Party. As a great organizer and connoisseur of the economy of our country, Comrade Kuibyshev was at one time head of the Supreme Council of National Economy directing Socialist industry. Then Comrade Kuibyshev was head of the State Planning Commission directing the compilation of the economic programs of the first and second Five-Year Plans. Comrade Kuibyshev's rich experience in organizing and economic work, his wide statesmanlike outlook, were manifested with special clearness as Assistant Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Kuibyshev died at his fighting post, working with his entire energy with untiring hands to the last minute of his life. He gave all his life and all his being to the cause of the working class, to the cause of our heroic people.

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International sorrows deeply along with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the whole International of the Proletariat in the loss of Comrade Valerian Kuibyshev, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who died in Moscow, January 25.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

BIOGRAPHY

VALERIAN KIUBYSHEV was born in Omsk, Siberia, in 1888. He joined the Bolshevist organization in 1904 and carried on active revolutionary Party work in various towns of Siberia and St. Petersburg. He was repeatedly arrested under the Tsars, and was four times exiled.

The February revolution of 1917 found him on the way to exile in a Siberian village. He directed the October Revolution in Samara, and later conducted the fight on the Eastern and Turkestan fronts against Kolchak, in the capacity of a member of the Revolutionary Military Council at the fronts.

Comrade Kuibyshev was elected a member of the Central Control Commission of the Party at the Eleventh Congress in 1922, in 1922-23 he was a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, since 1926 he was chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee since 1930. He was Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Assistant Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Labor and Defense. After the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1933 he was made Chairman of the Commission for Soviet Control and Assistant Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars and Council of Labor and Defense.

Comrade Kuibyshev was also a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. He was one of the most active participants and organizers of the October Revolution and Civil War, and the biggest organizer and leader of Socialist construction and planning of the economy of the U.S.S.R.

FROM ACTS OF TREASON TO THE PARTY — TO THE FASCIST-WHITE-GUARD SHOT

WHEN the shot was fired in Leningrad and the leader of the Leningrad workers, the fiery tribune of the revolution, the friend and companion-in-arms of the great Stalin—Sergei Mironovich Kirov—fell, laid low by a bullet, the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary workers of the whole world realized one thing clearly, namely, that the shot was fired by a class enemy of the proletariat, a lackey of the fascist bourgeoisie and an agent of international imperialism.

But when further investigations disclosed the whole truth, then proletarian indignation, contempt and hatred knew no bounds. Sergei Mironovich Kirov was assassinated by despicable renegades, traitors and Judases—by members of the former anti-Soviet Zinoviev group who had joined hands with those in the camp of the bloody fascists and White Guards, and had adopted fascist methods of struggle against the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The investigation established that "despite the capitulation of the former anti-Soviet Zinoviev group, the underground work of the most active members of that bloc did not cease but continued until very recently" (indictment of Nikolayev and others, as well as of Zinoviev, Yevdokimov, etc.). The contemptible leaders of the group—Zinoviev, Kamenev and others—capitulated in words to the Party times without number, wrote declarations about renouncing their views and their factional struggle, beat their breasts and publicly repented for their innumerable crimes against the proletariat.

Our mighty Party did not without necessity call to mind their past errors and even their treachery and perfidy after they had repudiated them (though the Party never forgot them). The mighty Party of a mighty class, a class that has come to power and is victoriously building socialism and is routing out the remnants of abominable capitalist relations in economy and in the consciousness of the people, this Party treated these people with leniency. But they, the anti-Soviet Zinoviev group, under the guise of agreeing with the Party and its leadership, continued their surreptitious and underground work of vile betrayal of the cause of socialist construction and of the world proletarian revolution. These dishonest and bankrupt politicians, these capitulators and deserters from the front of the class struggle, poisoned everything they touched with their hidden snakelike malice against the Party, against its Leninist leadership and against its brilliant leader, Comrade Stalin.

They were the ones who nurtured the despicable murderers, the "Leningrad Center". It was they who over a number of years educated these youths, inculcating into them a lack of faith in the possibility of building socialism in the U.S.S.R., and taught them to shut their eyes to the magnificent victories being achieved by socialism, and to rejoice at the difficulties which arose from time to time in the path of the struggle of the proletariat.

It is they—this vile Zinoviev group of ambitious and dirty politicians, of offended lords, of contemptible cowards and traitors — who, as investigations have established, knew of the terroristic sentiments of the members of the "Leningrad Center" which they had inflamed, and consequently bear, not only moral and political responsibility before the world proletariat and world Communism for the assassination of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, but also responsibility according to Soviet law.

Although not the actual murderers, it was they who incited their adherents in Leningrad on to this ignominious deed by spreading hatred of the leadership of the Party; it was they who corrupted them and brought about their degeneration politically, and thereby urged them on to take to terror against the leaders of the Party and of the Soviet State. "Sentiments of a terrorist character could not fail to grow in this heated atmosphere of hatred toward the leadership of the C.P.S.U. . . ." admitted the recently executed Rumyantzev, member of the "Leningrad Center", pupil of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others.

Yevdokimov, a member of the Moscow "Zinoviev Center", made the following declaration to the Soviet High Court (published in *Pravaa,* January 16):

> "When the charge is laid against us of harboring terroristic sentiments, then I firmly declare: 'Yes, we must bear the responsibility for this, for the poison with which for a decade we have infected those who surround us, which contributed to the perpetration of the crime, namely, the assassination of Kirov'."

G. Zinoviev was also obliged to recognize at least his moral and political responsibility for the crime, and declared that, "the Party is absolutely correct in what it says regarding the political responsibility of the former anti-Party 'Zinoviev' group for the murder committed. . . ." (From the indictment of Zinoviev, Yevdokimov, etc.)

The military tribunal of the High Court, at its session held January 15-16, established the fact that a counter-revolutionary group existed in Moscow,

headed by the so-called "Moscow Center", of which Zinoviev, Yevdokimov, Nakayev, etc., were members and under whose leadership the counter-revolutionary Leningrad group carried on its operations.

The proletarian court has passed sentence on these traitors, and the masses of people of the U.S.S.R. have fully endorsed the sentence.

As regards those who directly organized the murder, the investigation established that the actual perpetrator of the crime, L. Nikolayev, committed his villainous deed "on the instruction of the terrorist 'Leningrad Center'," which was formed of members of the former Zinoviev anti-Soviet group in Leningrad, and that the aim of this counter-revolutionary terrorist group was to "disorganize the leadership of the Soviet government by acts of terror, directed against the leaders of the Soviet government, by this means to change the present policy in the spirit of the so-called Zinoviev-Trotzkyist platform".

The investigation also revealed that, "having lost all hopes of receiving the support of the masses, and being a closed and politically doomed anti-Soviet group", the members of that group "not only turned to the path of direct terror", but "placed their stakes upon help 'from abroad'—upon armed intervention and assistance from certain foreign powers". For this purpose the members of the Leningrad terrorist center of the Zinovievites established contact through Nikolayev with the ———— Consul in Leningrad, a former Social-Democrat by the way, who has since been recalled to his country. From him they received financial aid, in return for which they promised to supply the consulate with "materials of an anti-Soviet character regarding the internal situation in the Soviet Union". (Testimony of Nikolayev.)

In his turn the ———— Consul promised to establish contact between the "Leningrad Center" of the Zinovievites and the counter-revolutionary Trotzky. This consulate, according to press reports, was that of a small country which is not in a position to prepare war independently against such a mighty and powerful country as the U.S.S.R. The situation becomes clear if, as we have every right to do, we presume that at the back of this small State stands another State, big and powerful, one which considers it its "holy mission" to wage war against the U.S.S.R. and which is preparing to alter the frontiers in Europe by force. "Here", as the *Pravda,* central newspaper of the C.P.S.U., declared on January 5, 1935, "is the essence of the whole affair"!

All these data were ascertained and established by the public prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., and were augmented by the personal depositions of the members of the "Leningrad Center". On the basis of these data, the indictment formulated the general conclusion that "the aims and methods of struggle of this counter-revolutionary terrorist group in Leningrad fully coincide with the aims and methods of the open enemies of the people,—such as the emigre White-Guardist, landlord-capitalist organizations, 'The Russian All-Army Union', and the 'Brotherhood of Russian Truth' (adherents of Denikin), who openly preach terror, who brought about the murder of Comrades V. V. Vorovsky and P. L. Voykov, and who systematically send their agents to U.S.S.R. territory in order to organize and perpetrate terrorist acts against representatives of the Soviet power".

All these facts, disclosed in court and given widest publicity, render it possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. The history of the development of the Zinoviev factional group shows that it was *the most treacherous and despicable of all factional groups in the history of our Party.*

It was the only group which in its practical activity turned double-dealing into a system. By transforming double-dealing into the *main* method, in its relations with the Party it *thereby took the same path as that taken by the White-Guard wreckers and provocateurs.*

2. The Zinoviev group was the only one in the history of our Party which found it possible to resort to terror, as a method of struggle against the Party and Soviet Power. Fundamentally, *it was a masked form of White-Guard organization, fully deserving that its members should be treated as White Guards.*

* * *

Such are the monstrous facts of perfidy and treachery disclosed by the proletarian court which guards the interests of the proletarian revolution.

"The counter-revolutionary fascist reptiles must be crushed! Death to the murderers and their accomplices, no quarter to the enemies of the people! Greater Party and revolutionary vigilance on all fronts of the struggle of the proletariat and socialist construction! We must take better care of our proletarian leaders!"—such was the unanimous voice of the workers and collective farmers in the land of the Soviets at hundreds of thousands of meetings of protest against the crime committed by the fascist-White-Guard assassins, meetings at which the just verdict of the Supreme Court, which sentenced the organizers and perpetrators of the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, was greeted with enthusiasm.

This revolutionary wrath on the part of the workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union against the fascist-White-Guard scum is shared by the advanced revolutionary workers of the whole capitalist world as well. During these days the editorial offices of Soviet newspapers received numerous letters from groups of workers in various capitalist

countries. Here are samples of what these proletarians write, people who are alien to any sort of hypocritical pacifism, and who approve the measures of revolutionary defense of the U.S.S.R., taken against the fascist barbarism introduced into the land of Socialism by these vile degenerates of the Zinoviev anti-Soviet group:

"Let us answer with two blows for every blow of the enemy. Death to the foes of the working class", wrote workers of Burgdorf (Austria) in a collective letter. "We express in advance our agreement with the sentence to be meted out which the murderers will deserve", wrote some workers from Amsterdam (Holland). "The main thing—no clemency", wrote proletarians of Pas de Calais (France). "From this example we see how dangerous are the last convulsions of the conquered class", wrote workers from Hilka Bitka (Czechoslovakia). "They must be repulsed as severely and consistently as possible, because here it is a question of the fate of toiling humanity." "Every one who was even remotely connected with this murderous crime must be mercilessly dealt with. We greet the decisions of the Soviet government and consider them quite just", wrote workers from Nesseldorf (Czechoslovakia). "We hope that the murderers and those who inspired them will be punished mercilessly in the interests of the proletariat of the whole world", wrote workers from Rotterdam.

Such is the unanimous attitude of the advanced revolutionary workers in the capitalist world to this fascist-White-Guardist Zinoviev brood; such are their demands for the merciless punishment of the enemies of the proletarian revolution. The experience of fascist terror and revolutionary battles has taught them much. Today these workers are far more numerous than heretofore. Today they are to be counted in tens of millions. And soon they will become the absolute majority in the capitalist countries, and then, replying with two blows for every blow of the enemy, they will rise to the victorious battle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Soviets. The future belongs to them, the advanced revolutionary proletarians.

Between them and the treacherous leaders of Social-Democracy there is already an impassable chasm. The full depth of this will become apparent if we compare Hitler's paper, the *Voelkische Beobachter,* with the Czech paper, the *Sozial-Demokrat,* the British *Black Shirt* (Mosley paper), with the Labor *Daily Herald,* which, faced with the fact that the fascist-White-Guardist bandits had been executed in the U.S.S.R., found a common language, and united in a common feeling of enmity and hatred towards the fatherland of all toilers, a hatred open and bestial on the part of the fascists, and hypocritically masked on the part of the Social-Democrats, and covered up by phrases about super-class "justice", "humanity" and "benevolence".

We call the attention of the world proletariat to the *Black Shirt*—mouthpiece of the British fascist Mosley—which kissed the lips of the reformist Labor leaders for their slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union, barely covered up by their hypocritical assurances of their "sympathy" for the U.S.S.R. (*Black Shirt,* Dec. 28, 1934).

> "The *Daily Herald* has at last summoned up sufficient courage to make some editorial reference to the mass executions that have recently been taking place in Soviet Russia. . . . As the *Herald* says, 'the Russian executions are barbarous and unworthy of a regime which professes to be the most advanced in the world'."

The leaders of the Labor Party and the General Council of Trade Unions have apparently lost the ability to differentiate between revolutionary self-defense on the part of the proletarian State against capitalist barbarism, and White-Guardist-fascist barbarism itself. It is precisely for this that the organ of the British fascists praises them. We shall deal with this subject in greater detail further on.

We call the attention of the workers of the world to the Czech *Sozial-Demokrat* which repeats almost word for word the infamous version spread by the German fascist sheet, the *Voelkische Beobachter,* and which attempts to present the executions of the White-Guardists in the U.S.S.R. as a variation of the events of "June 30".

Of course, the *Sozial-Demokrat* understands quite well (but passes it in silence) that Hitler and Goering instituted the slaughter of the Storm Troop leaders in an attempt to consolidate the bloody dictatorship of monopoly capital, to consolidate its terrorist anti-popular power at a time when there is a rise in the dissatisfaction with the Hitler regime on the part of the deluded masses of the people, at a time when this dissatisfaction is penetrating into the ranks of the Storm detachments themselves.

The proletarian court in the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, has executed an insignificant handful of traitors to the proletarian fatherland, individuals who had no connection with the masses of the people in the U.S.S.R., and who only contrived to make contact with the fascist bourgeoisie abroad, individuals who shot at the leaders of the proletariat, leaders who enjoy the boundless love and confidence of the whole toiling population of the great socialist Soviet Republic.

We also call the attention of the workers to the fact that none other than Emil Vandervelde took first place in this anti-Soviet campaign. He not only repeated the cries about the "barbarism" of the Bolsheviks uttered by his native bourgeoisie and the entire White-Guardist rabble caught in the act of organizing criminal terrorist acts; he not only compared the just act of proletarian revolutionary justice

with the butchery of the bloody Russian autocrat, Nicholas II, but he also utilized his speech in order to attempt to sow discord in the friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and France. It is well known that German fascism is now straining every effort in order to achieve precisely the aim which the Chairman of the Second International has set himself. We leave it to the proletariat of the world to judge in whose interests this anti-Soviet statement of Emil Vandervelde was made.

But we cannot pass by in silence the fact that *Populaire,* the organ of the French Socialists who have established a united front with the Communists, printed a document issued by the Russian Menshevik-interventionists, who protested hypocritically against the "terror" in the U.S.S.R. and who took Zinoviev, Kamenev and the terrorists under their protecting wing. Has the *Populaire* forgotten that the Russian Mensheviks organized uprisings against the Soviet Government (for example in Yaroslavl, in 1918)? Has it forgotten about the collaboration of the Mensheviks in White-Guardist butchery, when the representatives of the Menshevik Party participated in the "governments" and were even desirable people on the staffs of the tsarist generals who were "liberating" Russia from the Bolsheviks? Is it possible that the facts, exposed in open court in 1930, regarding the wrecking activities of the Mensheviks who established connections with the interventionist bourgeois-landlord "Industrial Party" on the one hand, and with the consulate of a foreign imperialist power, on the other, are already forgotten?

The Russian Mensheviks are consistent: yesterday they were caught red-handed as wreckers and interventionists and today they take upon themselves the role of defenders of fascist-White-Guardist terrorists. Can Leon Blum's sanctimonious and hypocritical explanation of the reasons which led him to print this letter of his "friends—the Mensheviks" satisfy any perplexed French proletarian? Is the fact that the Russian Mensheviks, who are maneuvering in the face of the powerful will of the working masses for a united front with the Communists, signed the declaration issued by a number of "Left" Social-Democratic Parties at the last session of the Executive Committee of the Second International, is this signature enough to explain why this base anti-Soviet document, a document which is only beneficial to the fascists and White-Guardists, was printed on the pages of a newspaper which is for a united front with the Communists? Every conscious proletarian will answer that it is not. This is no justification. It is only a hypocritical excuse which testifies, to say the very least, that the dissemination of anti-Soviet slanders is tolerated. It is an act which is inimical to the struggle of the working class against fascism, the war danger and the capitalist offensive. It is a deed which is inimical to the unity of action of the proletariat and which weakens the proletariat in the face of the class enemy.

The Paris reformist Council of Trade Unions went still further in its anti-Soviet lying campaign and issued a "protest" against the shooting of "a hundred workers" (!) in the U.S.S.R. by sentence of the High Court. The leaders of the reformist unions kept silent when the news arrived that Comrade Kirov had been foully murdered. They kept silent when the French workers were filled with revolutionary indignation against those who inspired and committed this fascist-White-Guard crime.

The Paris reformist Trade Union Council raised its voice only when the sword of proletarian justice fell on the White-Guard terrorists, on the degenerates of the anti-Soviet Zinoviev group, among whom, as is well known, there was not a single worker.

The reformist council rose in defense of these fascist-White-Guard terrorists against the Soviet Union, against the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world!

Such is the class differentiation in connection with the appraisal of the infamous murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov. At one pole—the advanced revolutionary workers of the whole world, together with the U.S.S.R., who are consistently opposed to any and all class enemies of the proletariat. At the other pole—all those Vanderveldes, Otto Bauers, Norman Thomases, and Menshevik interventionists who utilize the still existing pacifist illusions of the toiling masses so as to assist their "native" bourgeoisie and to discredit the Soviet Union. There still exists a broad section of workers, who are wholeheartedly on the side of the Soviet Union, but who are not yet fully convinced of the duplicity of bourgeois justice with its alleged super-class "fairness", who have not yet shaken off their ancient slavish servility to the capitalists and who still allow themselves to be deceived by the odious morals of the christian preachers, who teach them "not to oppose evil with violence" but who at the same time bless the banners of the fascist hordes which advance with fire and sword against the working class quarters.

It is to these honest, misguided proletarians, deluded by the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press, who seek a reply to their quandaries and doubts, that we must patiently explain the substance of these events.

* * *

You, Social-Democratic workers, cannot understand how it is possible that the anti-Soviet Zinoviev-Trotzky bloc, which was at one time a faction within Communism, could take the path of terror and anti-Soviet fascist-White-Guardist struggle against the leaders of the Soviet State and the Communist Party.

Is such a development unexpected or unusual? Of course not. The history of the Communist Parties

has proven that those elements who launch an anti-Party struggle against the Leninist line of the Party and against its leadership, invariably find themselves, in the last analysis—provided they continue to be obstinate—in the camp of the worst enemies of the proletariat.

In the ideological struggle of the revolutionary Marxists against the revisionists and later against the Centrists of Social-Democracy, the great Lenin foresaw, more than 30 years ago, the eve of the revolutionary battles of the proletariat; he foresaw that having sharpened all points of dispute and having concentrated all differences of opinion on points which had an immediate bearing in determining the conduct of the masses, the proletarian revolution would place the Menshevik Party on the other side of the class barricades.

This is precisely what happened. In order to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets, the Bolsheviks had, by means of an armed uprising, to overthrow the bourgeois-landlord government of Kerensky, the government of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Today the proletarians of the whole world should remember that in those decisive days of 1917, the contemptible leaders of the Zinoviev group were not with the insurgent proletariat, but were in favor of agreement with the Mensheviks who, with the Junkers, defended the accursed system of capitalist slavery. What is more, they were a strike-breaking, treacherous and perfidious group. At the time when the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, was preparing to storm the fortress of capitalism in Russia, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who had up to that time waged a sharp struggle within the Party against the armed uprising and against the seizure of power by the proletariat, and who were severely defeated within the Party and its Central Committee, treacherously wrote to the non-Party press and divulged to the bourgeoisie the decision of the Central Committee regarding the armed uprising. Lenin called this a strike-breaking act and direct treason to the proletariat. Lenin gave a popular explanation to the workers of the meaning of the shameful conduct of these cowards and deserters from the front of the socialist revolution.

> "Is it difficult to understand," said Lenin, "that it is permissible to be either for or against a strike *before* the Center comes to a decision on the question, but that *after* a decision has been made in favor of a strike (and an additional decision has been made to conceal it from the enemy), it is strike-breaking then to agitate against the strike? Every worker will understand this.
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> "Kamenev and Zinoviev have *betrayed* to Rodzianko and Kerensky the decision of the Central Committee of their Party regarding the armed uprising and as to concealing from the enemy the preparations for that uprising. . . ."

Lenin demanded the expulsion of the strike-breakers and traitors—Zinoviev and Kamenev—from the Party.

The day after the proletariat had conquered power, Zinoviev and Kamenev repeated their treachery by proposing to cede the power won to the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries by forming a "coalition" government of all the so-called "socialist parties". They conducted negotiations with the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and agreed to remove Lenin from the post of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and to replace him by the counter-revolutionary Avksentyev or Chernov.

No wonder Lenin did not consider this treacherous line pursued by Kamenev and Zinoviev in the October days to be accidental. It was bound to come to the fore as it actually did in the years when neo-Menshevism began to constitute itself in the Soviet Union under the ideological leadership of Trotzky.

As the great Lenin did in the past, so the great Stalin, who continues Lenin's work, foresaw, in the theoretical and tactical disputes which took place in the years of the reconstruction period, the inevitable and open transition of the Trotzky-Zinoviev opposition, at that time only a Social-Democratic deviation within the Communist Party, to the class enemy, to the fascists and White Guards.

While in Lenin's days the main and basic question which divided the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks was that of the dictatorship of the proletariat (and prior to that the question of the hegemony of the proletariat as the embryo of and as the stepping stone to the dictatorship of the proletariat) so later, when the dictatorship of the proletariat had already been won, the basic question which divided the Bolsheviks and the neo-Mensheviks into irreconcilable camps was that formulated by Lenin and brilliantly developed by Stalin, namely, the question of the possibility of building socialism in one country.

> "I think," wrote Stalin in 1926, "that lack of faith in the victory of socialist construction is the basic mistake of the new opposition. It is a basic mistake, in my opinion, because all the other mistakes of the new opposition spring from it. The mistakes of the new opposition on the question of the New Economic Policy, State capitalism, the nature of our socialist industry, the role of co-operation under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the methods of fighting the kulaks, the role and importance of the middle peasants—all these mistakes are the outcome of this basic mistake of the opposition, of their lack of faith in the possibility of constructing socialist society with the efforts of our own country." (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 308.)

But whoever denies the possibility of constructing socialism in the U.S.S.R.—and this was the common platform of Zinoviev and Trotzky—must inevitably turn to the path of capitalist restoration, no matter how much he embellishes it with "Left" phrases. This ideological foundation brought about the anti-Soviet demonstration organized by the Trotzky-Zinoviev "opposition" on November 7, 1927, and subsequently the treacherous fascist shot in Leningrad.

The vile chain of treachery, hypocritical double-faced recantations, and unprincipled anti-Party blocs with every fragment of former oppositions, both Right and "Left", both inside the C.P.S.U. and in the other parties of the Communist International, finally brought this most despicable of all oppositions—the Zinoviev-anti-Soviet group—to establish *connections* with the terrorist interventionist "Leningrad Center", which was its own product. Thus was closed this ignominious chain of uninterrupted treachery, brought to a close by laying bare the odious fascist-White-Guardist face of the dregs of the Zinoviev-anti-Soviet group.

But the leaders of Social-Democracy will tell you, Social-Democratic workers, that the Zinovievites and the Trotzkyists are Marxists. And Marxists are opponents of individual terror.

But is it not clear that the counter-revolutionary Zinoviev-Trotzky bloc ceased long ago to be a Marxist group? It uses "Marxist" phrases only to cover up its role of vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and to mask its White-Guard-fascist essence.

From its very inception, the Trotzky-Zinoviev platform contained within itself a poisonous seed capable of developing into White-Guard bandit practice. It made declarations from the very beginning about the "Thermidorean degeneration" of the Soviet Government and of the Party; from the very beginning, while still a faction within the Party, it formulated the famous analogy with a speech made by Clemenceau, the meaning of which was that it planned to stab the Party in the back should intervention take place.

It is, therefore, not accidental, that when the underground anti-Soviet group of Zinovievites became active in the Soviet Union in 1933, the ideological leader of the Trotzky-Zinoviev bloc abroad formulated a thesis on the struggle against the Soviet power by means of violence. On December 7, 1933, a year before the despicable murder of Comrade Kirov in Leningrad, the *Noe Veltblume* printed an article by Trotzky entitled "Two Perspectives of the Soviet Union". In that article Trotzky openly formulated the question of armed methods of struggle against the leaders of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

> "In the U.S.S.R.", he said, "it will be possible to compel the bureaucrats to hand power over to the proletarian vanguard [*i.e.*, the counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists—*Ed.*] only by the use of force. The lackeys will immediately begin to sing in a chorus that the 'Trotzkyists', as well as Kautsky, preach armed uprising against the dictatorship of the proletariat. But let us continue."

The counter-revolutionary Trotzky explained further on wherein he differed with Kautsky, who called for an armed uprising.

> "In any event, it will not be a question of an uprising against the dictatorship of the proletariat, but of removing [by force!—*Ed.*] a malignant sore."

Thus did Trotzkyism pave the way ideologically for the terrorists!

To coincide with what point did Trotzky time this "removal of a malignant sore", this disorganization of the leadership of the Soviet Government, to use the words of the indictment against the "Leningrad Center", by acts of terror directed against the leaders of the Soviet power so as to bring about a change of the existing policy in the spirit of the so-called Zinoviev-Trotzky platform?

To this question the seasoned wolf of counter-revolution gave a clear and unequivocal reply:

> "The correlation of forces [necessary for such a murderous act—*Ed.*] will be established by some great historical trial, such as may even be a war."

This despicable calculation on intervention needs no commentary.

* * *

Your Social-Democratic press is attempting to convince you, Social-Democratic workers, that the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov is evidence of an alleged accumulation of discontent among the masses of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., bordering almost on a "crisis" in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is allegedly compelled to resort to mass terror in order to save itself. The workers in all countries will enjoy a hearty laugh at this counter-revolutionary nonsense which the Social-Democratic leaders have clearly hired from the fascists.

The underground anti-Soviet group lived its own life completely isolated from the masses, a life which had nothing in common with that lived by the workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R. The difficulties which faced the construction of Socialism, rallied the Party and the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. to overcome them as speedily as possible, while these difficulties brought joy to the Zinoviev group and roused them to anti-Soviet struggle. The tremendous successes achieved by Socialism filled the workers with pride in their country and stimulated them to under-

take a still more enthusiastic struggle to build classless society; their effect on the Zinoviev anti-Soviet group was only to embitter them and to urge the most degenerate elements in the group to take to terror, and to establish ever-closer contacts with the fascist bourgeoisie.

The terrorists began to shoot at the leaders of the proletariat because the victory of socialism had become undisputed and because their hopes for mass movements against the Soviet Government had disappeared. Only one road remained,—namely that of White-Guard terror and of foreign intervention.

In 1933, already, the dregs of the Zinoviev group (which began to get active about that time) bolstered themselves up with the hope that the measures taken by the Soviet Government would collapse and that its internal and external difficulties would become intensified. We should call to mind that new difficulties were disclosed in the villages at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933, difficulties connected with the socialist re-education of collective farmers. This called for new efforts by our Party and for new methods of Party work in the village so as to make the collective farms Bolshevik farms, and the collective farmers well-to-do.

It was at this period that Comrade Stalin delivered his speeches regarding work in the village, and which provided the Communists with a program in this sphere for the coming years.

We should call to mind that this was also the time when the fascists came to power in Germany and when the danger of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union from the east and from the west was sharply intensified.

These external and internal difficulties were the nutritious soil in which the seeds of the anti-Soviet activity of the Zinoviev group flourished. The group awaited an intensification of these difficulties, they awaited intervention.

But the mighty Party frustrated these calculations of the enemies of the proletariat. Under the brilliant leadership of Stalin it defended the cause of peace and strengthened the international position of the Soviet Union. The diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the U.S.A., the establishment of friendly relations with France and with the countries of the Little and Balkan Entente, the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, such were its consistent successes in the realm of international relations.

Thanks to the gigantic advance of industry in 1934 (the production of cast-iron and steel increased by 45 per cent as against last year)—the U.S.S.R. established itself firmly in the second place in the world and in the first place in Europe as an industrial country.

We have achieved victory on the agrarian front by the fact that, despite drought and crop failure in a number of regions, but thanks to Bolshevik organization and the advantages of the collective farm system, we have gathered 250-300 million poods of grain more than in 1933 and more than at any time in the existence of the Soviet Government! Finally, the abolition of the card (ration) system for bread and for a series of other commodities of broad consumption—a measure which speaks of a vast improvement in the supplies of foodstuffs and industrial products in the hands of the Soviet State—testifies that a most important step has been taken on the road toward ensuring the fulfilment of the instructions of the Second Five-Year Plan regarding the increase, by two to two and a half times, to take place in products consumed by the masses in the Soviet Union.

It was in these conditions of the progress of socialist industry and of the advance of agriculture that the shot was fired—an act of desperation expressing the mortal agony of the capitalist elements in the land of the Soviets who are dying off and have been smashed up, but have not as yet been wiped out. It was a shot of revenge for the gigantic victories being achieved by socialism. It was a shot of political revenge against a leader who in Leningrad smashed up the remnants of the accursed Zinoviev anti-Soviet group.

Not a single worker, not a single collective farmer belonged to this boxed-up terroristic group, which lacked any contact whatsoever with the masses. These people—the Zinoviev offspring—were parasites on the mighty body of socialist society. These people—the dregs of the Zinoviev group—established contact with foreign interventionists and attempted to use snake bites to disorganize the Soviet power and its victorious construction of a classless socialist society. In vain! These vipers have been crushed. Great is the sorrow of the workers and collective farmers of the land of the Soviets for their slain leader. But the march ahead of millions of builders of socialism is victorious, and the rifle is firmly held in the hands of the guardians of the peaceful socialist labor.

* * *

The Social-Democratic leaders are attempting to tell you, workers, that the execution of White-Guard-fascist bandits in the U.S.S.R. is "barbarism" allegedly unworthy of the great land of socialism.

What a fake is such agitation calculated to deceive you, Social-Democratic workers! These imposters themselves understand quite well that the severe measures applied by the Soviet Government against the handful of bandits is the revolutionary self-defense of the proletariat against capitalist-fascist barbarism. The White-Guard-fascist terrorism to which the leader of the Leningrad Bolsheviks, Sergei Mironovich Kirov, beloved by workers and collective farm-

ers, fell victim, is a clear manifestation of capitalist barbarism.

This is the very terrorism which is being applied on a mass scale by the Hitlerites in Germany, who torture their victims in the dungeons of the Gestapo, who shoot hundreds of workers while "attempting to escape", and who simulate the alleged suicides of the strangled and tortured heroes of the proletarian struggle. This is the very terrorism which covered the mining regions of Asturias and the workers' quarters of Oviedo in Spain with blood. It is the same fascist terrorism which was responsible for the assassination of Duk in Rumania, Dollfuss in Austria and Barthou and King Alexander in Marseilles.

It is only thanks to Soviet Power that the Soviet workers and collective farmers and the U.S.S.R. as a whole have rid themselves of this capitalist-fascist barbarism. The workers and collective farmers have destroyed the last capitalist class—the kulaks, who, while drawing their last breath have also attempted to use a sawed-off shot gun. Now these dastardly remnants of the anti-Soviet Zinoviev group and tens of hired White-Guard assassins smuggled over the borders of the U.S.S.R. are attempting to introduce these criminal tactics of underhand assassination into the land of the Soviets!

The Soviet proletariat and the Soviet Government will not tolerate the growth in the Soviet Union of this capitalist barbarism, imported from fascist countries and finding support in the insignificant capitalist elements within the Soviet Union who have been smashed up but not yet fully wiped out. The Soviet Government has taken and will continue to take the most severe measures of revolutionary self-defense against such barbarism.

It should be clear to every worker that the proletarian State whose great aims are materializing, which is victoriously building classless socialist society and which is transforming the great dreams of the whole of toiling humanity into life, will defend all this that is being built up, from the encroachment of capitalist barbarism and White-Guard-fascist terrorism, and shoot any person found guilty of transplanting this capitalist barbarism from without, from the countries of fascism into the country of Soviets!

At the same time, the Social-Democratic leaders—defending White-Guard terrorism and aiding and abetting the fascist assassins—are raising their voices "in protest", allegedly in the name of civilization, justice, humanity, etc., etc.

What a pitiful and contemptible sight!

Once when looking at such a picture, which has repeated itself more than once in the course of the class struggle of the proletariat, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin exclaimed in anger:

> ". . . and our 'men with their cases', the dregs of the bourgeois intellectuals who call themselves 'Social-Democrats' and 'Socialists', sing the praises of the bourgeoisie and blame the revolution for any manifestations of ferocity or for the inevitable severity of the measures used in the struggle against especially sharp cases of ferocity, although it is as clear as daylight that this ferocity is a product of the imperialist war [and we would now say, of the fascists and White Guards—*Ed.*] and that no revolution can release itself of *such* consequences of the war [and now of fascism—*Ed.*] without a lengthy struggle, without a series of severe measures of repression."

Yes. There is a vast difference between the mass Red terror of 1918-1919 in the Soviet Russia and the present shootings of a pack of White-Guard terrorists.

At that time the revolutionary workers and poor peasants, surrounded on all sides by White-Guard armies, were making short shrift of the counter-revolutionary elements of the bourgeois and landlord classes who at that time were still strong in our country. That was a form of civil war against classes, which, although conquered, were nevertheless still strong by virtue of their connections and the funds still in their possession, etc.

Now the Soviet State is still further consolidating its revolutionary legal code. The decisions of the November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. are one big step forward in this direction. Now the sword of the proletarian justice has fallen upon a miserable handful of White-Guard-fascist terrorists, the majority of whom penetrated into the U.S.S.R. from abroad, from capitalist countries; it has fallen upon a handful of counter-revolutionary degenerates, who had neither connection with the masses nor influence upon them. The whole of the toiling population—through its workers' and peasants' Soviet Government—has executed these criminals to teach others to keep their vile murderous claws from the land which is constructing socialism and not to violate its peaceful toil by perfidious shots from the underground haunts of the White-Guard-fascists.

Soon after the murder by the White-Guardists of the Soviet ambassador in Poland, Comrade Voykov, L. Kamenev, one of the contemptible leaders of the Zinoviev group, attempted to mumble something against the executions of twenty "*most illustrious*" ones in reply to this crime, under the pretext that these executions would alienate from the U.S.S.R. sections of bourgeois pacifists in the West.

Comrade Stalin at that time replied that:

> "What are we to say of this reactionary-liberal philosophy? We can only say this of it, that its authors would like to see the U.S.S.R. toothless, unarmed, prostrating itself before, and capitulating to our enemies. Belgium was once 'stained with blood', and this was depicted at one time on cigarette cards. Why should not the U.S.S.R. be 'stained

with blood'—then everybody would feel sorry for it. No, comrades! We don't agree with that! Let all these liberal-pacifist philosophers betake themselves to the devil with their 'sympathy' for the U.S.S.R. With the sympathy of the millions of toilers everything else could be fixed. And if it is essential that somebody should be stained with blood, we shall do everything possible to ensure that some bourgeois country is beaten till blood flows, stained with blood, and not the U.S.S.R."

In 1935 the same as in 1927, these principles of conduct, formulated by Comrade Stalin, remain immutable laws of the revolutionary defense of socialism against capitalist barbarism, and bear the unqualified approval of all workers and collective farmers.

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A YEAR OF GREAT ADVANCES

THE working class throughout the world steps across the threshold of the year 1935 with a feeling of growing confidence in its own strength.

On New Year's Day, the Pope of Rome and the King of England, the dictator of fascist Germany and the Presidents of the most democratic republics, will, by tradition sanctified by centuries of the slavery and exploitation of toiling mankind, proclaim "first and last", the eternal inviolability of sacred property in their land. But the march of time is no longer in their power.

On the threshold of a new round of revolutions, the page of history named "1934", which we are turning over, has marked other "beginnings" than those which the bourgeoisie inscribed, when writhing in the throes of the struggle for the capitalist way out of the crisis, for the transfer of the cost of the economic crisis and the general crisis of capitalism to the shoulders of the toiling masses, and the oppressed and weak peoples. Let the bourgeoisie throughout the world still continue to make a frenzied onslaught on the working class, day by day increasing the fascization of the methods by which they rule. Let the heavy heel of fascism still continue to violate the ground where the best sons of the working class are daily shedding their blood for the liberation of toiling mankind. Let frenziedly savage chauvinism set forth the "myth of the 20th century" and welcome the "dawn" of the new year with the militant teutonic shout of the fascist minister-poet:

> "Hey, Franzman, this is a menacing morning greeting!
> "You must die that we may live. . . ."

Let them. . . . Let the myth that fascism was to rule a thousand years, proclaimed in streams of the blood of the German proletariat two years ago, appear, to the imagination of the cowards, renegades, defeatists and bourgeois hangers-on, to the leaders of Social-Democracy seeking to find an excuse for their utter bankruptcy, to be a whole historic period of reaction, a "new epoch of fascism". Let them attempt to persuade the working class that it is impossible to make a simple leap over this epoch, but that it is historically necessary to *wait*, and abandon the gains of a whole century of the working class movement to be plundered by the fascists, comforting themselves by the consciousness that history in the long run worked in their favor.

The glorious year of 1934 will enter the chronicles of history as a year of great socialist victories won by the mighty land of the proletarian dictatorship, as a year of heroic battles fought by the working class against fascism, and the beginning of the end of the hypnotism wherewith fascism, especially after its victories in Germany in 1933, attempted to hold back the process of historic development, by trying to imbue the masses with the legend of the impregnability of fascism and of the monolithic character of the fascist state.

The year 1934 will go down in history as a year of great change in the establishment of the united front of the working class against fascism, the capitalist offensive and imperialist war—as a year of great advances made in the consciousness of millions of Social-Democratic workers who are becoming convinced, by bitter experience, that the path along which the Social-Democrats have led them is the path of defeat for the working class and the path of inevitable fascist slavery.

It will go down in history as a year of enormous growth in the political influence of Communism. It will go down in history as a year of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis. These historic changes came to maturity in the February barricades built by the Schutzbunders in Vienna, in the February general strike of 4,000,000 workers as well as the barricade fighting in France, and in the great October battles fought by the Spanish proletariat.

What though the working class lost the first open skirmishes! The decisive point, however, in determining the results of 1934 is the fact that the bourgeoisie have become undoubtedly weaker while the revolution has moved forward, the fact that new revolutionary prerequisites have been established for the forthcoming victories of the working class.

In Floridsdorf and Asturias, the proletarian insurgents have temporarily left the direct field of battle. But millions of toilers, filled with hatred towards fascism and capitalist exploitation, roused by the smell of powder throughout the capitalist world, enheartened by the gigantic successes achieved by socialism in the U.S.S.R., are standing on the historic stage, conscious of the growth of their power to fight.

The main thing is that the masses are more and more being filled with a realization that it is possible to carry on victorious resistance to the fascist onslaught, and in some sectors are resorting to the highest forms of struggle. The main thing is that with every day that passes the organizing role of the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, is increasing. The main thing is that there has been a decline in the belief in the power of the bourgeoisie. The main thing is that the masses are becoming more

and more imbued with the realization that fascism cannot destroy the working class and its Communist Party, that fascism is not overcoming the economic difficulties facing it but is still further intensifying them, that it is still further increasing the tremendous poverty of the masses, that it is losing its mass basis more and more, and that there is no return to the past.

Such are the chief results of the year 1934.

And it is not with tearful and timid hopes which leave the future in the hands of super-human forces, not by waiting peacefully in the cellars of history that the working class greets the New Year, but by rising to its full height, and taking in its hands the ideological and material weapons which alone make it possible for it to hammer out its own future and the future of toiling mankind. The working class is taking its place under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and is taking the rifle into its hands.

On the threshold of the year that has passed by, there took place the historic congress of the shock brigade of the Communist International, where the magnificent results of the construction of socialism were dealt with in the report delivered by the mighty Stalin, a report which is the most brilliant document of the era. No one gave a better formulation of the importance of this speech than one of the best and most brilliant of the galaxy of disciples and pupils of the leader of the world proletariat, namely, Comrade Kirov, who fell at the dastardly hands of the dregs of the Zinoviev group, which had rallied together on the basis of a Trotzkyite-Zinoviev platform, and had sunk to absolutely fascist depths, having finally broken away from the masses, demoralized and taking their revenge by shooting from behind at the stupendous victories achieved by socialism.

> "As the result of all the work we have done, we have, at the present stage of our development, such a development of the dictatorship of the working class in our country as we never had before. We now have a mighty Soviet State, working, really powerfully and firmly knit together, one which has created the foundations of socialist economy. This gives tremendous moral satisfaction not only to the working class and the millions of collective farmers in our country, but it is the best agitator and the most powerful propagandist for the cause of socialism, outside the borders of our country, among the international proletariat, among all the oppressed of the East and West". (From the speech delivered by the late Comrade Kirov at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

There are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture, said Comrade Stalin. The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. set out a huge program for the construction of the edifice of socialism in the U.S.S.R., in the year 1934. And the Christmas bells hardly had time to announce the prayers of the bourgeoisie that their tottering kingdom should be saved when the powerful victorious chorus of the giants of the Five-Year Plan rang out, along with the signal that the instructions given by the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. as to the production of 10,000,000 tons of cast iron in 1934 were fulfilled.

This quantity is two-and-a-half times more than tsarist Russia produced. This quantity is more than any country in capitalist Europe is producing. This quantity is a guarantee for the further powerful growth of industrialization in the U.S.S.R., and of the unprecedented growth of the well-being of the working class. This amount of cast iron means hundreds of thousands of tractors which will deeply plough the fields of the collective farms, which by the Bolshevik organization of the collective farms will provide a harvest unknown in tsarist Russia and has already created the conditions for the abolition of bread cards and for a new advance of the movement to collectivization.

This cast iron is the steel armor in which the invincible Red Army is clothed on the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

Look at it, the steel horse about which Lenin, the greatest genius of mankind, always dreamed. This is how the instructions given by Stalin, the greatest genius of our epoch, instructions to overtake and surpass capitalist Europe in the course of ten years, are being fulfilled.

Look at it, the great socialist plan based on Marxist scientific foresight on the revolutionary energy of the toiling masses, on the iron unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Bolsheviks, the plan which the fustian heroes of the Second International called the "Bolshevik experiment" and which the counter-revolutionary Trotzkyite-Zinoviev degenerates described as "thermidor".

Look at the socialist fatherland, the land with its heroes of labor, the land which produced the valiant Chelyushkinites, the Kamanins and Nolokovs, which has raised tens of millions of people from uncultured neglect and want to heights hitherto impossible for them to attain, and which has in one year created material and cultural values such as could only be produced under capitalism in the course of decades, or such as it is entirely impossible to produce under such a system.

Here we have not the mythical but the actual liberation of mankind. Here we have that progress of which only the boldest thinkers and teachers of socialism ever dreamed. Here history has given a short and comprehensive reply to the question put by St. Simon in France at the beginning of last century, namely, where would France lose most: if it lost 3,000 capable workers or if it lost 3,000 princes, generals, ministers, priests and lawyers. For the least known of the builders and enthusiasts of socialism,

and the least known of the proletarian revolutionaries who fell under the knife of the fascist murderers, has incomparably greater rights to a place in history than any of the "great" bourgeoisie, because he personifies the real progress of mankind.

On the threshold of the New Year, at a time when the world economic crisis was turning to a depression, in a situation where Social-Democracy and the opportunists of all kinds were speculating on an ebb of the revolutionary struggle, on an inevitable decline of the revolutionary struggle, as capitalist economics improved, Comrade Stalin gave a keen Bolshevik analysis of the "depression of a special type", and a clear revolutionary perspective for the future. A year has passed since this happened and capitalism has nowhere been able to create the prerequisites for any capitalist stabilization.

Prospects of a new stabilization are not to be seen anywhere.

On the contrary, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism has gone on without interruption and was brought about by a profound shaking up of the whole capitalist system, by the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist countries, by the mighty growth of the U.S.S.R. the development of the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies, the narrowing down of markets and the struggle for them, the deepening of imperialist contradictions and the contraction of the ability of capitalism to maneuver. Therefore, even a temporary growth of industrial production (which, by the way, is stagnating in some advanced capitalist countries) did not hold back the process of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Hence the profound significance of the words of Comrade Stalin that the idea of taking capitalism by storm is maturing in the minds of the masses, although in the overwhelming majority of countries there is no directly revolutionary situation as yet in being.

The prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis are maturing in the chief center of the fascist attack on Communism, namely, in National-Socialist Germany. During the crisis fascism was able to take advantage of the growing indignation of the petty-bourgeois masses against the worsening of their conditions and directed against the Weimar constitution. The petty-bourgeois masses became victims of fascist demagogy because Social-Democracy split the working class, while the Communist Party, owing to the influence of Social-Democracy, did not as yet have the support of the decisive strata of the proletariat to such an extent as to cast them into open battle against the capitalist system, thus drawing the ruined petty bourgeoisie into the struggle. But the same process of increasing discontent on the part of the masses led, owing to the fact of the deception contained in the promises of the National-Socialists, to a contraction of the mass basis of fascism, and on June 30 brought to the surface the beginning of the crisis of the fascist dictatorship.

The heroic activity of the Communist Party, more than anything else, prepared the explosion of June 30. The Communist Party was able to stand firm in face of unparalleled fascist terror. Its agitational activity was not only not weakened but, on the contrary, grew still stronger. It advanced new cadres of underground organizers, hard as flint. But it did not succeed in attracting the broad masses of the Social-Democratic Party, now becoming active, by boldly and firmly carrying out the united front. It was not able as yet to become such an organizing force among the masses as to be able on June 30 to raise the feelings of the masses to direct action.

Hence a certain strengthening of the government apparatus of the fascist dictatorship after June 30, which allowed it to make a number of attempts to bring about a certain regrouping of forces while narrowing its mass basis. But after June 30, fascism could, by means of terror, only drive the hatred of the masses deeper, but it could not restrain the speed at which class contradictions in Germany sharpened.

It was unable to remove the youth from the factories even to the small degree that it expected to do. In places it has to meet the open resistance of the peasants, to dissolve its own National-Socialist organizations in the factories, and to undertake new acts of repression against the discontented elements inside the National-Socialist Party. It has to shout openly about the danger of Communism, and scare the international bourgeoisie about the danger of proletarian revolution in Germany so as to force them to come to its aid.

No, the course of history is no longer under the control of the magnates of capital. The fascist dictatorship was able for a time to delay the process of the proletarian revolution, but it also accelerated the revolutionary process. The fascist dictatorship will not fall by itself, of course. But behind its back stands the united front, growing ever stronger, of the proletariat, while its organizer, the chief grave-digger of fascism, the Party of Thaelmann, knocks ever stronger at the gates on the eve of 1935.

The idea of storming capitalism is maturing in the minds of the workers of Austria, where fascism has not even been able to attract the broad masses by demagogy, but where Social-Democracy, which had a monopoly of authority over the working class and had the experience of Germany before it, repeated the tactics of Wels and Stampfer step by step, right up to the point of making concessions to the idea of the fascist "corporate State" and negotiations with the Christian Social Party a day before the February battles took place so as "to avoid bloodshed".

The heroic struggle of the Austrian Schutzbund was not as yet a struggle for working class power. But it was an armed struggle. The leaders of Social-

Democracy who now complain that "the Schutzbund members expected too much from their weapons" understand quite well that when there is even a small Communist Party the "criticism by weapons" may soon develop into a struggle for working class power, but this is exactly what they were most afraid of. This is why even the joint theoretical organ of the Austrian and Czechslovakian Social-Democratic Parties, the *Kampf,* was compelled to admit that not only the Communists but also the Socialist workers have now taken up an attitude of hatred towards Austro-Marxism. This is why Social-Democracy in Austria was even compelled to change the name of its party.

In the history of the revolutionary struggle there is no precedent for the transformation in such a short period of a small isolated Communist organization into a mass fighting party, the leader of the underground movement. The Communist Party of Austria brought this about by a brilliant application of the tactics of the united front, and by the revolutionary every-day organization of the masses for struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive.

The idea of taking capitalism by storm has matured among the working class of Spain who, after four years of continuous revolutionary struggle, after attempts at coalitions and constituent assemblies, after tremendous strikes and revolutionary peasant movements, came to the armed struggle for power. Herein was the higher form of the October struggles of the Spanish proletariat as compared with the February battles of the Schutzbund in Austria. The united front of the Communists and the Left Social-Democrats found its peculiar expression in the shape of the "Workers' Alliances", which played an active role during the general strike and the armed struggle. But all the tactics of Social-Democracy led to defeat. In those places where the "Workers' Alliances" really assumed power, where soviets arose as the form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants, growing into the proletarian dictatorship, at the center of the uprising in Asturias and Biscay—Social-Democracy displayed hesitation and even treachery.

The Spanish bourgeoisie, to the sound of the approving cries of world capitalism, is taking fierce vengeance on the Asturian Communards. Only the fact that Social-Democracy and the anarchists had the majority of the working class behind them, only the backwardness of the peasants owing to the tactics pursued by Social-Democracy, only the treachery of the anarcho-fascists and the irresoluteness and sometimes the direct treachery of Social-Democracy gave this victory to the bourgeoisie.

But this is a "Pyhrrean victory", these are "dangerous successes", as one of the prominent reactionary leaders, Calvo Sotello, stated in the Cortes. "Anyone who thinks that political life, disturbed in its normal development by the successes of the revolution, will again return to its ordinary channel, is mistaken". The ground is slipping from under the feet of the Spanish bourgeoisie. In order to soothe the masses, Lerroux "defends the constitution", while the fascist Robles "criticizes" the corporative system. The Spanish proletariat lost a big battle, but the revolution in Spain is going ahead.

In France, where the bourgeoisie, due to the fact that this country became involved in the world economic crisis later than other countries, found it possible to carry on demagogy regarding French "exceptionalism", the intensification of class contradictions since the beginning of the crisis in France and in connection with the slower transition to a depression, and especially after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, has led to a rapid growth of fascism and the tremendous scope of the revolutionary movement against fascism on the basis of the united front.

Utilizing the support of decisive groups of the large-scale capitalists and their connections with the army and the police, the fascists made an attempt in February 1934 to undertake a determined attack on the working class, but they were beaten back by mighty united front demonstrations, by a strike of 4,000,000 workers such as the French working class movement has never known. *The initiative of the Communist Party* compelled the Social-Democrats to give way to the demands made by the masses, and France became the *main keypoint for the development of the proletarian united front.*

The united front pact is still restricted to a modest circle of questions. But the important successes arising from it are plainly to be seen. And every day that a decisive and Bolshevik effort is made by showing them the truth of this in the concrete struggle to imbue into the minds of the masses that the united front struggle is not a maneuver but a weapon of class action, will widen the field of action of the united front and raise the forms of the revolutionary struggle.

In *China,* despite the enormous mobilization of the forces of counter-revolution and imperialism, the heroic struggle of the Red Army has shown that the *Soviets* in China are *indestructible,* because they base themselves on the mighty revolutionary enthusiasm of tens of millions of peasants and workers.

The huge strikes and the revolutionary upsurge in the United States, the barricade fighting in Amsterdam and Zurich and the general strike in Greece—such were the stages of the past year which confirm the words of Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. to the effect that *the revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature in the capitalist countries.*

Ten years ago, Hilferding, the theoretician of the Second International, in the theoretical organ of Ger-

man Social-Democracy, the *Gesellschaft,* founded by him, formulated the theory of organized capitalism, capitalism without crises, without wars, and without revolutions. This theory became the banner of the Second International. In industry, stated Hilferding, the War and the post-War period signified a tremendous growth of the concentration tendencies of capitalism and the transition of capitalism from free competition to organized capitalism. In such organized capitalist economy the position occupied by labor changes. Unemployment becomes less threatening and its consequences are ameliorated by insurance. In the political sphere the war ended in an extension and consolidation of the democratic form of power in the chief countries. And if we examine imperialist policy in its historic conditional state as a capitalist policy of expansion which arises from a definite phase of imperialist State policy, the question arises as to whether the issue of the war also put an end to his policy or, at any rate, whether there has been any considerable change in it.

Where is this "organized" pacifist capitalism now?

The basic question around which the gigantic struggle of classes in the whole capitalist world is now concentrated is the question as to who will bear the expenses of the capitalist crisis. The bourgeois politicians and scientists in all countries are breaking spears on this question, but they are all striving towards one aim. What does Social-Democracy advance in opposition to the capitalist way out of the crisis? The period of reforms has ended, announce the followers of De Man, and the thing in question now is a change in productive relations, "State capitalism", which an examination proves to be the capitalist way out of the crisis. The thing in question is "revolutionary dictatorship", say the Welses and Stampfers for—the capitalist way out of the crisis. Did not the "leading" German Social-Democrat use the Saar newspaper, *Freiheit,* to praise the predatory fascist trusts as progressive achievements of national socialism and as a "bit of socialism"?

Why do the supporters of Wels, De Man, Stampfer and Hilferding need this?

They need it so as to provide a theoretical basis for their *sabotage of the united proletarian front and the concrete revolutionary struggle* against fascism, the capitalist offensive, and against the capitalist way out of the crisis; *big questions,* they declare, are on the order of the day and the workers must not scatter their forces. They need it to advance Wels and Stampfer, and their tactics of the "lesser evil" which placed the German proletariat under the yoke of fascism; they need it to create the conditions for a repetition of these tactics by defaming the heroic struggle of the Austrian and Spanish proletariat who have allegedly "passed the boundaries of violence". In connection with the theses about the attitude of Swiss Social-Democracy to war, Lenin wrote:

> "The aim [of the revolutionary struggle—*Ed.*] is declared to be 'socialism'. Socialism is contrasted to capitalism. . . .
>
> "But this is (theoretically) to the highest degree illogical while practically it is without content. It is illogical because it is *too* general, too diffuse. 'Socialism' in general as an aim in contrast to capitalism, (or imperialism) is now recognized not only by the Kautskyans and the social-chauvinists but also by many bourgeois social politicians. But it is not now a question of the generally counterposing of two social systems, but of the *concrete* aim of the concrete 'revolutionary mass struggle' against a concrete evil, namely, against high prices *today,* the war danger *today* or the *present war.*" (Lenin, "Some Points of Principle on the War Question", *Works,* Vol. XX.)

This is why the task of establishing the united front on the basis of concrete proletarian action, the task of exposing all saboteurs of the united front in the camp of the Second International and the organization of a fraternal joint struggle along with all the Social-Democratic workers and honest Social-Democratic functionaries who are prepared to carry on this struggle, is the *main task facing the Communist vanguard on the threshold of a new round of revolutions.* Only on this basis will it be possible to link up the everyday struggles with the struggle for power by the working class. The year 1934 brought an enormous contribution to the cause of the united front. The further successful operation of the tactics of the united front demands that *the conception that the united front is a maneuver or that it is capitulation to Social-Democracy be decisively eliminated* from among the Communists themselves.

Only the *Bolshevik monolithic character* of the Communist Party *and the iron solidarity* of its ranks, only by *mercilessly cleansing* our ranks of opportunists, of the petty-bourgeois hangers-on of the proletariat and of the lack of principle inherent in them, can we ensure that the working class will advance to decisive victorious battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dastardly murder of Comrade Kirov and the exposure of those who are traitors to our socialist fatherland demand that our vigilance be raised to a maximum degree in defense of the fortress of the world proletariat, the U.S.S.R., and that the purity of the ranks of the world Communist vanguard be ensured.

Only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and united like a wall of steel around the staff of the world proletarian revolution headed by Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the C.P.S.U., and leader of the world proletariat, will the Communist Parties lead the working class up to the day when, according to the words of Marx in the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung: "One day of a victorious insurrection makes up for centuries of shame."*

THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT

By K. GOTTWALD

THE toiling masses of Czechoslovakia are faced with the urgent task of preventing the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

The present government, which contains representatives of three "Socialist" Parties, is paving the way for a fascist dictatorship. It has already carried through a whole series of measures directed towards fascism, and is unceasingly coming forward with new measures of a similar character.

The government has now undertaken a new attack. At the beginning of November it declared that there is a project to introduce a new exceptional law with regard to the registration of political parties. Although the details of this law are as yet not known, there can be practically no doubt whatever that according to this law only those parties will be recognized which stand "for the State" and its "democratic republican forms". In actual fact, the law at the present moment only threatens the Communist Party, for all the remaining parties, including the fascists and irredentists,* express themselves with great readiness in favor both of "the defense of democracy" and "the defense of the State".

As a result of this new measure the C.P. of Czechoslovakia will, "on legal grounds", be driven underground, and deprived of all its seats in parliament, in the municipal councils, in the districts and the provinces, and all this will be done with the consent of the three governmental "Socialist" Parties, of which two belong to the Second International.

While the present bourgeois-"Socialist" governmental coalition is carrying through this preliminary preparation for open fascist dictatorship, a regrouping of the political forces of the bourgeoisie is taking place outside of parliament.

Several months ago the National-Democrats left the government. The National-Democratic Party is the party of the most powerful banking group in Czechoslovakia and is linked up with the "Zhivno Bank". This party has now become the nucleus of a new fascist bloc in Czechish spheres.

Under the leadership of the biggest governmental party, of the Czechish agrarians, a bloc of landowners is being formed which is striving, through the medium of the German agrarians [also a governmental party], to bring about cooperation with the fascists of the German "Zuder" with the "Heimatsfront" group.

The Black Jesuits are also not sitting idly back. The admirers of the present regime in Austria and Spain, the Jesuit Srashek and the former fascist Sheinost of the Czechish Clerical Party, are gathering together a clerical bloc of which the fascist party of Khlinki in Slovakia is to be a fundamental component part.

But what is most important is that all these blocs that are coming into being are very closely connected with one another politically. This was made clear, for instance, recently at the municipal elections that took place in Pizek and in Peshki. The bourgeois parties there put forward a united list of candidates, and actually operated a united front against the Communists and Socialists. There, in practice, all the clearly expressed bourgeois parties, governmental and oppositional, came forward jointly. And it should be borne in mind that in all these bourgeois parties there is to be seen an intensification of the tendency in favor of the establishment of similar cooperation within the government as well. They do not hide the fact that such a government would not hesitate in case of necessity to operate all the laws and decrees concocted by the present bourgeois "Socialist" government for the struggle against the Communists, against the Socialists and the Socialist organizations as well.

This means that while the revolutionary working class movement has hitherto been persecuted with the assent of the governmental Socialist Parties, while the governmental "Socialists" are still participating in the preparations for the new exceptional law against the Communists, we are *now faced in Czechoslovakia with the possibility and the danger of a new fascist drive against the whole of the working class movement and all its organizations.*

The Czechoslovakian proletariat is in such a situation as a result of the policy of collaboration between the "Socialist" Parties and the bourgeoisie. These parties will also remain loyal to their line in the future. The present leaders of the governmental "Socialist" Parties are making special efforts to retain their positions in the governmental coalition at any price, even at the price of the most severe political and economic attacks against the toiling masses.

But the masses of Socialist workers are in a different state of mind. These masses have learned the

* The irredentists are those who support unification with Germany or Austria.—*Ed.*

lesson of Germany, Austria and Spain, and recognize ever more clearly that fascism is the enemy of all workers, irrespective of their political coloring, and that following the repressions directed against the Communists, the repression in Czechoslovakia will begin to be directed against the Socialist workers and their organizations.

And further, the Socialist masses are beginning to understand that it is precisely the policy of their parties and of their leaders which brings in its train consequences of this kind. For this reason the demand is being raised ever more openly by the masses of the proletarian members of the Socialist organizations of the need to *change* the policy of their party. Among the Socialist workers there still continues to exist a very unclear idea, not free from illusions, regarding the *essence* of such a change.

Nonetheless this spontaneous dissatisfaction with the policy of their leaders creates favorable grounds for the idea of the united front, and for the movement for the united front, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. For this reason the C.P. of Czechoslovakia advances the following slogans for the Socialist workers:

> "Down with the policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie! Long live militant cooperation between the Communist Party and the Socialist Parties, and the organizations of the small peasantry!"

These slogans have been called forth by the necessity to create a very wide united front of all antifascists and their organizations against the menace of a fascist dictatorship. These slogans can rally the majority of the Socialist workers and of their local organizations, and place them in sharp contradiction to the leaders of their parties, and can draw them into the extra-parliamentary mass struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive.

The C.P. of Czechoslovakia must increase its efforts tenfold, for the extent to which the fascist onslaught will be beaten off depends on the degree to which our Party is able to transform the dissatisfaction of the Socialist workers with the policy of their party into the active extra-parliamentary struggle of important sections of the Socialist Parties, a struggle carried through in a united front with the Communists.

The C.P. of Czechoslovakia works and carries on the struggle in a very complicated situation, which is conditioned by the whole of the internal and external situation of Czechoslovakia, and of the whole of its historic development.

Czechoslovakia is surrounded by States where we have open fascist dictatorships of which at least two (Germany and Hungary) raise the question of the revision of the peace treaties very sharply.

Czechoslovakia itself is a State with a mixed national composition, where six nations live together in compact masses (Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians and Poles). The dominant nation is the Czechish. But the Czechish nation is a small one, which underwent 300 years of national oppression under the yoke of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

It is clear that under such conditions the idea of the independent existence of the Czechish *nation* more or less coincides in the eyes of the broad masses of the toilers of the Czechish population with the idea of present-day *imperialist* Czechoslovakia, which oppresses the other nations. This refers not only to the various sections of the Czechish petty bourgeoisie (peasants, handicraft workers and the toiling intellectuals), but also to important sections of the Czechish Socialist workers.

What is more, it may be said with certainty that the national question is one of the *most important* ideological links binding the majority of the Socialist workers to their parties. Further it should be borne in mind that in comparison with the fascist regime in all the neighboring States, the political regime in Czechoslovakia still passes as a "democratic" one and is a "lesser evil" in the eyes of the broad masses. It is precisely on these illusions that Benes has played when uttering his "winged" words to the effect that in Central Europe, Czechoslovakia is an "island of democracy". This is one side of the question which mainly refers to the *Czechish* section of the toiling population.

Still more complicated are the processes going on among the *oppressed nations* in Czechoslovakia. Let us take, for example, the German, Hungarian and Polish toiling population. In the majority they feel themselves between the devil and the deep sea (and this in the last analysis can be said about all the oppressed nations in Czechoslovakia).

On the one hand there is the oppression from the Czechs, while yonder there is the threat of Hitler, Horthy and Pilsudski. The masses of the German petty bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia for the time being support Hitler. This is proved by the successes achieved by the fascist organization, the so-called "Heimatsfront" in Czechoslovakia. But the decisive sections of the German proletariat in Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, the Communists and the masses of members of the Social-Democratic Party, are quite definitely hostile to Hitler and to any kind of unification of the German regions in Czechoslovakia with the present third empire.

This resistance to Hitler and the fear of the Hitler regime explain why a big section of the German Social-Democratic workers, in spite of their oppression by the Czechish bourgeoisie, still believe in their party which asserts that the struggle against Hitler and Hitlerism can be conducted in alliance with Czechish

imperialism. The fear of the workers of the fascist regime in the neighboring States renders it easy for Social-Democracy to achieve support among the proletariat of the oppressed nations for illusions regarding "Czechoslovakian democracy".

Where are the roots of all these misgivings? *In the absence of revolutionary perspective.* Only a clear revolutionary perspective, *a perspective which shows the solution of all these questions along the revolutionary path, on the road to the proletarian revolution and to the establishment of Soviet Power,* only such a perspective can guard the mass of the Czechish toiling population against the possibility of new national oppression and against fascist dictatorship. Only such perspectives show the masses of the toilers of the non-Czechish nations the possibility of national liberation without the danger of falling, so to speak, from the frying pan into the fire, *i.e.,* out of the claws of Czechish imperialism under the whip of Horthy, Hitler, and Pilsudski.

Social-Democracy makes use of the fears above-mentioned so as to intensify democratic illusions and to win support for its policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie. We must scatter these fears, by showing the masses wide revolutionary perspectives, and tirelessly carry on the struggle against all democratic illusions, and discredit the policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie in all its forms.

We are fighting for the establishment of a broad united front. The proletariat will carry on a wide extra-parliamentary struggle against fascism, for the democratic rights of the toiling population, and against the capitalist offensive and the danger of war, *i.e.,* for the most burning economic and political partial demands of the masses. To establish this united front or militant bloc we direct ourselves not only to individual Socialist workers and their local organizations, but also to their parties. We must stress, especially, that this is not a maneuver but that what we are really and seriously concerned with is to rally all those who wish to fight against fascism and the capitalist offensive.

What have the Communists to tell the Socialist workers in the present situation? Approximately the following:

The policy of your parties, we must say, the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, has been and remains a factor which has reduced the whole of the working class movement to such a state that we are directly faced with the menace of open fascist dictatorship. Your leaders assert that no other policy is possible since the working class is split and enfeebled. But you should clearly see that your leaders consciously substitute the consequence for the cause. What is true is that the split and enfeeblement of the ranks of the proletariat are the consequence of the collaboration of your parties with the bourgeoisie. If, therefore, they are seriously striving to consolidate the positions held by the working class, they must give up collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and agree to a united front with the Communists, to militant collaboration.

Your parties and your leaders reject the united front with the Communists on the excuse that the Socialists will allegedly have to leave the government in such a case, and hand over "all power" to the reactionary bourgeois parties, and this, they allege, will speed up the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. We shall again refer to their "power" within the government, and to the way they form a protective "barrier" in the government against the fascist dictatorship. But there can be no doubt that they will really have to leave the government, for they cannot serve two masters at one and the same time. But is it true that in such a case a "fascist onslaught" is inevitable? By no means. On the contrary. If our Parties take the path of class struggle against the bourgeoisie, if they accept the proposals made by the Communists and develop an extra-parliamentary struggle on the basis of militant collaboration, then the fascists of all shades will have a bad time of it.

And so, think over, wherein lies the strength of the proletariat? In collaboration with the bourgeoisie? No! This would be equal to death. The power of the proletariat lies in the extra-parliamentary positions it occupies, in uniting its forces for the general struggle against the bourgeoisie in the factories, in the streets, and in the cooperative trade unions and other organizations. And it is in just this direction that the proposals made by the Communists regarding the establishment of the united front and militant collaboration were turned. And now think what the correlation of forces between the bourgeoisie and the working class will be in such a case.

In a large number of factories in Czechoslovakia, the representatives of the four parties which could participate in militant collaboration (the Communists, Czechish and German Social-Democrats and the National-Socialists) have a majority in the factory committees. This means that they have a majority of the factory workers behind them. If they take action jointly on the basis of militant collaboration against the employers, in defense of the interests and the rights of the working class, does not the relation of forces advance in favor of the workers? Of course it does. In such a case, bounds would be set to the growth of various yellow and fascist trade unions in the factories. If the members of these trade unions see that militant collaboration defends them, then the majority of them would leave the yellow trade unions, while as for the incorrigible strikebreakers who remain, the workers will know how to deal with them.

The four trade union bodies, namely, the Czechish trade union council, the Reichenberg trade union commission, the Czechish workers' association and the

Red trade unions, have more than a million members. In any case the decisive section of the working class in Czechoslovakia belongs to these organizations. The Communists propose that all these union organizations be organizationally fused, on the basis of the class struggle and working class democracy. But, independent of this, how much might be done now, today! Thus, for instance, all the Socialist and Red trade union groups could set up joint committees in each factory and town, call general meetings and conferences, and make a solid advance in defense of the interests of the proletariat. We have already indicated how to deal in this connection with the yellow fascist plague in the factories. There can be no doubt that a majority of the workers in the factories will follow the united trade union committees. Is it not clear that n such a case the employers and their hirelings would be compelled to talk in a different tone with the workers?

In Czechoslovakia we have an army of unemployed amounting to three-fourths of a million people, and the fascists are beginning to carry on recruitment among them. Imagine that an unemployed committee of action was set up in each locality, one which could carry on its activity on the basis of powerful militant collaboration. This would make it possible to establish a powerful organization basing itself upon the whole mass of the unemployed. Messrs. the regional police chiefs, chief constable and the fascist Lord Mayors would be compelled to alter completely their way of speaking.

In thousands of parishes the above-mentioned four trade union bodies have their representatives in the municipal administrations, and the political organizations and other working class societies are under their influence. If militant collaboration were to be established in each municipal administration, if a local militant collaboration committee were set up in each municipality, composed of the representatives of all these organizations and if the poor peasants and their organizations, where they exist (as for instance, the groups of landless peasant-socialists, the groups of the "Domovina" and "Otchina" organizations, etc.), are drawn into the united front, if such tactics are applied in relation to the small handicraftsmen and the advanced intellectuals, then it will be possible to establish such a broad anti-fascist united front in every municipality which Kramerz, Strashborni, Gaida, Hennlein, Hlinka and others will attack in vain.

This, consequently, is how the militant collaboration front will develop. It would have the support of the majority of the workers in the majority of the factories. It would have the support of the majority of the workers organized in trade unions. The very fact of the establishment of the militant collaboration front and of the action it undertakes would attract the workers of the yellow trade unions as well as the unorganized workers. Thousands of unemployed committees would rally to it, it would be followed by the million of proletarian members of the trade unions, as well as by other organized workers. The majority of the population in thousands of localities would support it. In the struggle for the interests of the small peasants and the handicraft workers, the united front could draw a big section of these groups away from the influence of the bourgeoisie, landowners, churchmen and National-Democrats, and make allies of the working class out of them.

Thus, one thing is clear. The organization of a militant bloc of workers and peasants in all factories and in all localities would lead to a fundamental alteration in the correlation of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, one beneficial to the proletariat. An end would be put to the policy of retreat, and a beginning would be made of a period of counter-attack.

Your parties and leaders will perhaps ask you what you will gain if you form an alliance with the Communists and establish joint committees of militant collaboration in the factories and localities. Laws, they will tell you, are created not in the factories or localities but in parliament and in the government! The gendarmes, police, and army are not in the hands of the factories and municipalities, but in the hands of the government. If, they will say, we do not stand on guard inside the government, then the reactionary bourgeois parties will create new laws directed against you, and the government will set into operation against you all the means of State violence. And then, is their argument, your conditions will be worse than they are now, for then a fascist dictatorship will really come into being.

And so they stand "on guard", so as to prevent the adoption of laws directed against the workers and peasants? But if this is so let them be good enough, for instance, to explain to us who benefits from a reduction in sick benefits, the workers or the capitalists? Or perhaps they will explain whether a reduction in unemployment benefits is of advantage to the workers. And in whose interests is an increase in the price of bread as a result of the bread monopoly? In the interests of the workers and peasants, or in the interests of the speculators and landowners? And is the annulment of taxes on the rich coupled with subsidies for the banks, while the property of the peasants and the handicraftsmen are sold up by auction, also in the interests of the people? And this is called standing on guard!

They entered the government, they suggest, so that the State power, police, and army should not be directed against the workers and peasants. Very well! Perhaps that is why, whenever a strike takes place in Czechoslovakia, the employers are arrested by the gendarmes and the police line the strike pickets up

at the factory gates? Perhaps that is why all meetings organized by the capitalists are dispersed, whereas meetings and demonstrations organized by the workers are allowed to take place without any hindrance? Perhaps that is why when distraints and sales of peasants' property take place in the villages, the executors of the law are often put into chains, while the property of the village poor is protected, etc.? But jokes on one side. The workers and peasants are well aware as to how State power is utilized in Czechoslovakia.

Finally, the "Socialists" joined the government for another reason, namely, to prevent the fascist dictatorship. But *with whom* do they propose to do this? Who is their partner in the coalition? Not so long ago, one of them was the famous "anti-fascist" Kramarz, who has now joined forces with Strashborni. But leaving Kramarz on one side, let us take the present partners of our "fortunate" "Socialists" in the government. They are the Czechish and German agrarians, and the Czechish clerical, Berran, Hodge, Malipetre, Spinna, Khaker, Stanik, Shramek, and Sheinost. It is with *these* parties, and with *these* people that they wish to defend "democracy" against fascism. What is this? Illusions? Blindness? Stupidity? Criminal light-heartedness? No! This is something far worse!

In any case, the Socialist workers should ask the following question of their leaders and their parties: Tell us, what sort of guarantee against fascism is the Czechish Agrarian Party which only recently was led by Strashborni, and which is now headed by his personal friends, Vranni, Berran and Stanik, the same Agrarian Party which is trying, in the person of Spinna, to find a "modus vivendi"* with the fascist Hennefline? Tell us, in conclusion, what sort of a democratic fighter is the former supporter of Gaida, now a prominent propagandist in the clerical party, namely Sheinost, who is singing hymns of praise to the present regime in Austria and Spain, along with the whole reactionary clerical front? These people, then, are "anti-fascists"! So you want to prevent the advent of fascism with *their* help? You will meet with no greater success if you link up with Satan against the devil. Is not the experience in Pisek and Peshki sufficient? Do you really remain blind and deaf to the whole of the experiences undergone in Grmany and Austria?

This is one side of the "anti-fascist struggle" of the governmental Socialist Parties, in which the Socialist workers should take an interest. But there is also another side to the picture. Your leaders and parties declare that they are carrying on an anti-fascist struggle when defending democracy. But they "defend" this democracy in the following way; they have declared a number of working class organizations illegal and are carrying on negotiations with various capitalist organizations "on equal terms". The majority of the working class meetings and demonstrations which they find inconvenient are banned by them, but they figure as honored guests at meetings and conferences organized by the capitalists.

They have issued a law regarding exceptional powers, and are overflowing with emergency decrees. They have removed the elected revolutionary burgomeisters from the municipalities, and have placed capitalists and government commissars in their places. They have taken good care that each regional chief of police should have as much power over the municipalities and the toiling population as a Turkish pasha has. They have cancelled the time limits prescribed by law for the election of factory committees and municipal authorities in the districts and counties. They feel quite well in the situation where for twenty years no elections have taken place to the bodies managing medical funds.

We could quote ever new examples without end, but let these be enough. We only remark that the governmental "Socialists" are now preparing a law regarding the registration of parties. According to this law only those parties will be recognized as legal and allowed to participate in the elections as suit these gentlemen. In any case, the Communist Party will be prevented from participating in these elections.

The "Socialist" leaders will justify themselves in the following way: "This law", they will argue, "and all the steps that the government is taking against the 'sedition-mongers' is directed not only against the Communists, but primarily, against the fascists. You see, we have arrested not only Krasnarge, but also Gaida and Jung. We have even disbanded the Hackenkreutzers, without disbanding the Communists. Don't you see how we are taking good care that the democratic laws are directed primarily against the fascists?"

And so you have disbanded the Hackenkreutzers. But you have not touched Hennlein. You have arrested Gaida, but what could you do when he made an attack on a barracks? But you very soon released him; he got away, apparently, with four months. And this, for an attack on barracks! How many thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers have been subjected to far more severe punishment for the distribution of leaflets, for participating in meetings, for some speech, and very often for nothing at all? Gaida can carry on as previously, Jung is at liberty, while Strashborni has got linked up with the family of bankers in the "Zhivno Bank" and has thus become completely untouchable as far as the "anti-fascists" and "Socialists" in the present government are concerned.

This, then, is how the "Socialists" stand "on guard" in the government. They draw up laws, not to benefit the workers, but against them. They

* A form of collaboration—*Ed.*

utilize the power of the State, not to defend the workers, but against them. They do not defend democracy, but are depriving the masses of the last remnants of their political rights. They govern along with the reactionary bourgeois parties, with the masked fascists, and do not carry on the fight against fascism, but clear the way for open fascist dictatorship.

Is this accidental? No, when you are in Rome, do as the Romans do. Anyone who collaborates with the bourgeoisie at the present time, when the bourgeoisie as a whole is striving to bring fascism into being, must participate in the fascist process. The question of fascism will be solved not around the green table, in coalition with the bourgeoisie, but will be solved by the extra-parliamentary struggle of the toiling masses in the factories, streets, municipalities and organizations. It is only with such arguments that anything can be wrested from the bourgeoisie, and not by lackey speeches made by "Socialist" ministers. Some Social-Democratic worker will say: "The united front and militant collaboration to repulse fascism and the capitalist offensive is splendid, but what next?" What must we reply? Approximately the following:

The united front is the *beginning of the gathering together* and rallying of the forces of the proletariat *primarily* against the menace of fascism and against any offensive on the part of the capitalists. It is the *precondition* for the successful repulse of all attacks made by the proletariat. At the present moment the *most important and decisive question* is how to set up a dam in the way of the bourgeois offensive. It is only thus that the *necessary preconditions* can be assured for the passage of the working class to the *counter-offensive*.

In what way? For instance we will not satisfy ourselves with defending the existing wage scales, but will demand an increase in wages. We shall demand better insurance against sickness, and an increase in unemployment benefits; we shall demand that working time be cut down while full wages are maintained, and better protection of the householder. We are not satisfied with the relics of democratic rights which have been preserved up till now, but we shall compel the bourgeoisie by our own struggle and our own movement to give us wider possibilities and freedom of action without considering the letter of the law. We shall undertake a counter-attack on the fascist parties, and, by letting loose the forces of the working class, we shall draw onto our side the wavering middle elements in town and country, elements which constitute a most important reservoir for the fascist movement as long as the proletariat is weak and capitulates to the bourgeoisie, but which are inclined to side with the working class and become the allies of the latter, if the workers display their power and undertake the offensive against the bourgeoisie.

Will the united front or militant collaboration be able to call forth this change in the general situation? It will, without a doubt. But to achieve this, of course, certain preconditions are necessary.

First, this united front must be sufficiently broad; it must include, along with the Communists, the majority of the Socialist workers and their organizations, as well as the mass of the unorganized workers.

Second, it must give itself a sufficiently firm foundation organizationally, below, and must base itself on a thick network of joint commissions and organs of action of different kinds in the factories and localities.

Third, it must at least establish the basis for the unification of the trade unions. The maximum number of joint committees, consisting of various trade union groups, must be established in the factories and localities.

Fourth, as wide as possible a section of the Socialist workers and their organizations must turn away from the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and must master the policy of the class struggle, and, corresponding to the situation, must select suitable forms and methods of struggle to bring about the fulfillment of their demands.

What prevents these preconditions, or the majority of them, from being put into operation *now, immediately?* Mainly, the resistance of the leaders of the governmental Socialist Parties, the resistance of all those elements in these parties who under no circumstances wish to give up collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and who are struggling against the united front by all possible means. How can the Socialist workers overcome this resistance? Basically, with the aid of very simple means, namely, *by themselves and all their local organizations concluding the united front, and a militant bloc with the Communists.*

This is how matters stand, and not otherwise. There is *no other way* whereby to proceed to business, whereby to set up the *preconditions* for successful defense and for a counter-offensive by the proletariat, whereby to bring about a turn in the present political situation in Czechoslovakia for the benefit of all sections of the toiling population.

But the Communist Party sets the working class a much higher aim than simply successful defense against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, and a counter-offensive with a view to winning back better conditions for the toilers within the bounds of capitalism. Such a much higher aim is *the conquest of power and the construction of socialism.*

Our *enemies* show us how we should not and cannot place this question. Not so long ago theses were published by the Trotzkyists in France. The theses, by the way, deal with the united front in France. The question is raised as to what aim the united front

should follow in France. The Trotzkyists reply that the aim of the united front in France is the conquest of power. How do the Trotzkyists understand this question of power? As "a government of Socialists and Communists", as *"a Blum and Cachin ministry"*.

The very fact of such a setting of the question shows that the authors are from head to foot in the bog of Social-Democratic parliamentary combinations and democratic illusions. What would such a ministry (Blum-Cachin) really be? How could it achieve power? With the aid of the ballot? With the aid of parliamentary combinations and agreements? But that is the theory of Blum. But what would such a ministry base itself on? On parliament and the old bourgeois State apparatus? This apparently is how Blum imagines things. What program could such a ministry put forward? The same kind as was operated in Germany by Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann in the year 1918? As both "Labor Governments" operated in England? As the "Socialist Messiah" De Man proposes and as the "Socialist" ministerialists are operating in Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Denmark? It is clear that only Blum can imagine such a kind of government. But it would be, in the best of cases, only a coalition government, even though without direct representatives of the bourgeois party, yet nonetheless a government within the bounds of capitalism, a government in which some or other Socialists, it is true, bedeck the ministerial seats, but where the real power remains in the hands of the capitalists. We have already seen dozens of such "Socialist" governments, and what has been their fate? Has it not been proved with incontrovertible clarity by the experience of historical development that they have nothing in common with the real conquest of power by the working class?

Real working class power means Soviets, means an armed working class and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the landowners, manufacturers and bankers—in a word, is the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. And the working class can only achieve this real working class power through a *violent* revolution, and by overthrowing capitalist domination through proletarian revolution. This is also proven by the whole process of historical development with unfailing clarity.

A "workers' and peasants' " government *without* revolution, *without* soviets, *without* an armed proletariat, *without* the disarming of the bourgeoisie, who are deprived of all political and economic power, and *without* a united revolutionary program, theory and practice, has *nothing in common with our ideas regarding real working class power, which can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat*. To set the question of power in Trotzky fashion and to solve it so, means to play the game of the Social-Democratic theorists. To follow such a path means only to strengthen those democratic illusions in the minds of the masses, without overcoming which the proletariat cannot and never will really win power.

If we have been convinced that the capitalists will not voluntarily raise wages even by one per cent, and will not give the working class even the most insignificant political rights, then common sense should tell us that the bourgeoisie will be still less inclined to give up voluntarily their *main* weapon, namely, *power*, and the private property in the means of production connected with it. The bourgeoisie must *be compelled* to give this up, and, of course, not with the aid of the ballot, but with *the aid of force*, with *the aid of revolution*. This is a most important law.

And from the point of view of this law we ask the following: Is the united front or the militant collaboration described above and proposed by the Communists sufficient for the conquest of power? Obviously not. Trenches can be stormed by using hand grenades but heavy artillery is necessary to storm fortresses. The enemy's army can be weakened, disorganized, demoralized and even compelled to retreat by separate assaults and operations on the part of peasant detachments, each one of which to a greater or lesser degree is operating at its own risk. But to destroy the enemy army and to be victorious, not in one battle alone, but in the war as a whole, this requires a *united* army, a *united leadership, united* strategy and tactics, and a *united* aim. And to win a revolution is a far more difficult task than to win a war, and is more difficult because the process of *forming such unity of aim, strategy and tactics in the class struggle, as well as unity of leadership,* takes place in quite different circumstances than in the general staff of an army. The dynamics of the class struggle are such that revolutionary unity is hammered out only in *the process of struggle* and on the basis of the experience of the masses.

It is, of course, impossible to foresee how the class struggle will develop in Czechoslovakia in all its details. One thing, however, is clear. Its previous development has brought about a situation where the majority of the Socialist workers feel deeply dissatisfied with the policy pursued by their parties, a dissatisfaction which has called forth a broad movement in favor *of changing* this policy.

We Communists point out the *direct* form and line to be taken by this alteration. Our slogans are first and foremost the following: "Down with collaboration with the bourgeoisie! Long live the united front, and militant collaboration between Socialists and Communists!" We say the following to the Socialist workers: "If your parties were really Socialist parties they could and should bring about this turn." But the leading bodies of these parties are opposing this by all possible means. We therefore tell the Socialist workers and their organizations: "Don't wait, but bring about this turn yourselves."

By this means and also by independently conducting the struggle we will show the Socialist workers in a practical way how to approach the united front and militant collaboration, and at the same time indicate the means of struggle, the extra-parliamentary mass struggle and the direct aims of the struggle, against fascism and the capitalist offensive. If this struggle develops to its full extent then it will sharpen to a tremendous degree.

In the process of accumulating their own experience of struggle, in the process of our untiring agitation and propaganda of our Communist aims, theory, strategy and tactics, the *political level of the Socialist workers must unconditionally increase,* so also must the *political level of the struggle.*

But Stiven threatens the Socialist workers with the following: "If", he says, "you conclude a united front with the Communists, then perhaps the bourgeoisie will get scared at the beginning, but then everything will turn out as it did in Austria." By this Stiven wishes to say that if the workers resort to arms, they will undoubtedly be defeated. But if the Socialist workers of Czechoslovakia follow the example of the Socialist workers in Austria and Spain, and resort to arms in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, then they will thereby be leaving the basic kernel of the Social-Democratic doctrine and will be approaching the Communist doctrine.

And if the armed struggle in Austria and the armed uprising in Spain did not bring about victory to the proletariat, the main reason is that the Social-Democratic workers have not adopted the position of the Communists on all basic questions. In other words, the example of Austria and Spain by no means implies that the workers must be defeated if they resort to arms, as the Social-Democrats assert in order to scare their members. For the October Revolution of 1917 and the fruits of its victory, namely, the Soviet Union, bear witness to this with the most unquestionable clarity. But this means that the workers *cannot be victorious* if the majority of them adhere to the position taken up by Social-Democracy *on even one important question.*

Let us clear this up by a few other words. You can fight for one or other economic demand while remaining a Social-Democrat (it is clear, not as the Social-Democratic type of minister-Socialist who robs the workers of their benefits). You can also fight against fascism, yet be a Social-Democrat (it is clear, not as a Social-Democrat of the Doror type who arrests anti-fascists). You can also fight for political rights (it is clear, not as a Social-Democrat of the Meissner type who deprives workers of their political rights). You can even, as the example of Austria and Spain shows, advance to the barricades without having yet broken with Social-Democracy (but then it is clear you should not have anything in common with Stiven and others, with those who have shot down the workers on more than one occasion). But if you wish to be victorious and really to conquer power, you can only do so *under the banner of Communism, only under the banner of the teachings of Lenin.*

On the question of the oppressed nations, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia has adopted a correct position. For these nations it demands the right to self-determination to the point of separation. At the same time, it declares with full clarity that it is against any unification with Hitler, Pilsudski and Horthy, and that it will carry on an active struggle against this, as is now being done in the Saar region.

Without a doubt the first part of our program in respect to the oppressed nations (self-determination to the point of separation) is not fully understood by the broad masses of the Czechish petty bourgeoisie and by the majority of the Czechish Socialist workers. The explanation is the fear of these sections of the population for Czechish national independence. The Social-Democrats make use of this fear to fire at us from heavy artillery, they honor us with such epithets as "traitors to the fatherland", "Hitler's assistants", they assert that we "wish to blow the republic into bits", etc. Have we foundations of a political and ideological character for remaning on the defensive on the question of the oppressed nations? By no means. How must we reply to the Czechish chauvinist demagogues? Approximately in the following way:

Don't get so hot, gentlemen! Don't you know that the slogan about the rights of nations to self-determination to the point of separation is not a Bolshevik invention? Do you know that it was a slogan of the bourgeois revolution, and is consequently a democratic slogan? So that, if you were real and consistent bourgeois-democrats, you should yourselves put this slogan into operation. But since you do not belong to this category, then the consistent operation of this principle will evidently have to be one of the tasks facing the proletarian revolution. This is the first point.

Second, have you heard of the comparisons to which Lenin resorted when explaining this question? He said that the right to divorce is not equal to divorce itself. Let us develop this example. What must a husband do or what must he not do if he does not want his wife to leave him? He must not beat or persecute her, nor compel her to go hungry, he must not give her unbearable burdens, but must allow her such rights as he has himself. In a word, he must treat her as an equal, behave as one comrade to another. Then he will have no need to fear that his wife will leave him. But how do you behave in connection with your marriage, fastened on you, by the way to the *non-Czechish peoples?* It is not worth while speaking about that. And then you are surprised that they would like to get rid of you? If

you would behave otherwise, they would not strive to part from you. But your "democratism" is insufficient for the solution of such questions. This is why the proletarian revolution will have to solve this question instead of you.

And finally, have you people, who still call yourselves "Marxists", completely forgotten the famous declaration made by Marx that no people can be free that oppresses other peoples? We Czechish Communists have not forgotten it, and act according to this principle. It is just because we wish the toiling Czechish masses to be free, *i.e.*, that they should rid themselves of the shame and chains of capitalism, that we say that it is in their own interests not to oppress other nations.

What must we tell the masses of Czechish workers? Send all the patriotic blatherers who are in the pay of the "Zhivno Bank" and of the friends of General Petchek, to the devil. In every nation, and consequently in the Czechish nation, there are two nations, namely the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor. The nation of the masters always made a noise about "national freedom" and "national unity", when it was a question of "freely" skinning and robbing this second nation, the nation of the poor and of the slaves. But as soon as these slaves raise themselves so as to rid themselves of the chains placed around them by their "brethren", and as soon as these gentlemen feel themselves seriously threatened they always link up with their "age-long enemies".

Remember your own history. With whom did the Czechish masters unite against the "orphans" when they were threatened by the Hussite revolution? With Rome! Take the history of other nations. With whom did the French bourgeoisie form an alliance against the Paris Commune? With Bismarck, although it was he who at that time held more than half of French territory under his iron heel. Who prepared the advance of the imperial German army on Petrograd in 1917 in order to smash the fortress of the revolution? The Russian bourgeoisie. It was only the victory of the Bolsheviks that hindered this criminal plan.

But let us return to our own history. Who applauded the imperial general Vindishgetz in the year 1848, when he shot down the students of Prague and the toiling masses? The Czechish bourgeoisie. Who was it that out of fear, not of the proletarian revolution, but of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which was at that time shaking Europe, hid himself under the skirt of the autocratic Hapsburgs? Who was it at that time who played the role of gendarme of reaction and covered the Czechish people with the most terrible shame? The Czechish bourgeoisie, who declared that: "If Austria had not existed we should have had to set it up". Yes, that it is the kind of class which rules over us, Czechish workers, intellectuals, peasants and handicraft workers. It is a class without honor, a cowardly class, but a fierce one, which from the very first day of its birth was branded with the mark of Cain, with the mark of treachery to everything that is great, advanced and revolutionary, to everything that can make a people great. This is the class of Mervash, and Zhevicha.*

And this class wishes to turn you against the Communists, who wish to show the world that the Czechish people not only has its Prague "society of masters", not only its admirers of Vindishgetz, not only its Zhevichas, but also its "orphans", its peasants from Klum and its barricade fighters of Troitsy of the year 1848. They try to turn you against us because we wish the Czechish proletariat to carry the struggle of their forefathers to its end, and that the nation should thus liberate itself from the domination of capital and become really free.

Look at the Soviet Union. There you see a live example of how the emancipation of the toiling nations, the path indicated by the Bolsheviks, leads, not to the loss of national freedom by the nation which was formerly the ruling nation, but on the contrary, leads to the strengthening of its national liberty, and provides the final guarantee for its freedom, thanks to its fraternal alliance with other nations. And the Soviet Union, as far as we are concerned, serves also as an example as to how the national problem should be settled in Czechoslovakia.

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* Mervash and Zhevicha were pre-war Czechish politicians who occupied important positions but who were later exposed as spies and informers—*Ed.*

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ORGANIZE FOR DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Statement of Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., to Party Membership and to all Party Organizations.)

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., instructs all Party organizations to prepare for the carrying on of a systematic campaign in the Party and among the broadest mass of workers and toilers in preparation for the Seventh Congress of the Communist International as a Congress of struggle for the fighting unity of the working class. The basic link in the real mass preparation for the Congress must be the intensification of the struggle for the united front of all toilers against fascism and war.

Every Party organization will have to carry through a most careful analysis of our experiences since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, to check up the policy of the Party, its tactics and slogans, from the point of view of the penetration of the Party's influence among the toiling masses and primarily among the working class; also from the point of view of the organizational consolidation of this influence, the political growth and training of Party cadres, and the ability of the Party to organize and lead the struggle for the defense of the interests and rights of the workers and all toilers.

Proceeding from the Open Letter and the Eighth Convention decisions, this check-up of the entire work of the Party must be conducted from the point of view of the necessity of building up the united proletarian front and of bringing about trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle.

At the plenums of the District Committees, Section Committees, unit meetings, etc., and at meetings of Party functionaries, the discussions should be carried on not only on the results of the work of the Party during the past five years, drawing lessons from this for forthcoming work, but there should also be discussions on the outlook for the growth of the Communist movement in the U.S. This should be done on the basis of the analysis of the economic and political situation in the country, the alignment of class forces, the changes taking place in those parties and organizations which have influence among the masses (Socialist Party, A. F. of L., etc.), the level of the mass movement, taking especially into account the all-round strengthening of the U.S.S.R. and its increasing international role.

While concretely analyzing the strength of the existing fascist movements and formations, and the fascization of the rule of the American bourgeoisie through the N.R.A., while analyzing the fascist methods of work and demagogy, the Party organization should discuss the question of how best to organize the struggle against fascism and fascization in accordance with the concrete conditions and from the point of view of building up the widest anti-fascist front of the toiling masses.

The Party organization must carry on a wide campaign of enlightenment on the question of struggle for the united proletarian front as the most essential condition for victory over fascism. At the same time, we must carry on a concrete and persistent criticism of the Social-Democratic policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, which is the cause of the splitting of the working class, and, consequently, of its weakening in the face of the class enemy.

The Party organizations must draw into this discussion and campaign the non-Communist workers (Socialist Party members, members of the A. F. of L., etc.). We must invite these workers and non-party workers generally to the meetings for discussion of the questions on the agenda of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern and its significance for the entire working class.

All this preparation for the Seventh Congress must be utilized for intensified recruiting of new members into the Party.

OUTLINE OF TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORTHCOMING SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1. The general tendencies of capitalist development since the Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International.

2. The specific characteristics in the United States of the "depression of a special kind".

From the old deal to the "New Deal".

The crisis of the "New Deal".

The bankruptcy of all theories of American exceptionalism (bourgeois, Lovestone, Trotzky).

To what extent and in what forms was the transition to the depression accomplished at the expense of the (a) workers, (b) farmers, (c) Negroes, (d) urban middle classes, (e) colonies.

Plundering the public treasury to subsidize the monopolies—inflation—war preparations.

3. The question of the relations between fascism and Social-Democracy.

Before the advent of Hitler and subsequently.
S.P. and struggle against fascism.

4. The crisis of the Second International.
The present role of the Socialist Party of America (analysis of its various groups and tendencies).
The role of the reformist leadership of the A. F. of L.

5. The concrete application of the Leninist principles of anti-war struggles in the present world situation.
Present role of U.S. imperialism in relation to the war danger and to the peace policies of the Soviet Union.
America's war preparations.
The struggle for the postponement of war.
The struggle against the present chief war incendiaries (Germany, Japan, and the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital in all imperialist countries).
The struggle for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and support for its revolutionary policy of peace.
The struggle for the defense of Soviet China. Support for the anti-imperialist struggle in China.

6. Our program of the revolutionary way out.
The relation between the socialist revolution in the U.S. and the colonial revolutionary movement in the Caribbean and South America.

7. The significance for the U.S. of the socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and of the existence of Soviet China.
The effects upon the revolutionization of the class struggle and the fight for Soviet America.
Bourgeois "planning". Socialist planning.

8. The struggle for unity of action and for the unity of the working class.
The struggle for the majority.
In the unions.
Socialist Party and Communist Party.
League Against War and Fascism.
Unemployed movement.
Farmers.
Negroes.
Youth.
I.L.D. and general struggle for civil rights.
Protection of foreign-born.
Cultural.

9. Trade union work.
The major problem of building the rank-and-file movement in the A. F. of L. unions, of winning the local organizations, of winning the decisive sections of the A. F. of L. membership.
Forms of organization and methods of work of the rank-and-file opposition in the A. F. of L.
Problems of work in the independent unions.
Problems of building the revolutionary unions.
Problems of work in the company unions.

10. On the struggle against opportunism on two fronts.

11. The fascization of the rule of the American bourgeoisie.
The Roosevelt N.R.A. as a method of masked fascization and war preparations.
The growth of more open fascist movement and formations.

12. The specific characteristics of the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.
Strike struggles of a class war nature.
Sympathy strikes, general strikes.
Mass urge to trade union organization, especially semi-skilled and unskilled.
Movement from below for the united front.
Resurgence of unemployed struggles and of the movement for H.R. 2827.
Maturing forces for mass break-aways from the old capitalist parties and toward organized working class independent political action.
Significance of Communist Party vote increase in the last election.
Third bourgeois parties as a capitalist and reformist way of checking this process of mass break-aways from the old capitalist parties.
Our experience and policies in linking up the Communists more firmly with the mass movements and organizations for the purpose of directing them into channels of independent political action and revolutionary struggle.

13. The allies of the proletarain revolution.
Toiling farmers. Problems of penetrating their mass organizations and of unfolding the daily mass struggles of the toiling farmers under the hegemony of the proletariat.
Negroes—Negro proletariat. Sharecroppers. The problem of the organizational crystallization of our political influence. Our experience in the struggle for Negro rights and self-determination. The review of the Scottsboro struggles. The role of American imperialism in Liberia and in the West Indies.
Urban middle classes. Methods of work. Exposure of the reformist assertion of the decreasing role of the proletariat (Thomas).

14. The special role of the youth and women in the struggle against fascization and war.

15. The political education of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie (Federal Army and Navy, State militia, American Legion, etc.). A thorough survey of the social composition of these forces and their commanding personnel.

16. Problems of Party Building.
Recruiting.
Struggle against fluctuation.
Building of cadres.
The contents of work of the Party units.

Special characteristics of work in the factories and the special problems involved.

Concentration (methods and experiences).

* * *

The Agit-Prop Commission of the Central Committee has been instructed to take up immediately the organization of all available forces to collect the information and to build up the necessary outlines for these discussions.

For the Discussion for the Seventh Congress of the C. I.

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THE BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL — THE BANNER OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

ELEVEN years have elapsed since the death of Lenin, the brilliant teacher, theoretician and leader of the world proletariat, the leader and organizer of the Bolshevik Party, of the first victorious socialist revolution, the creator of the first socialist state in the world—the U.S.S.R., the founder of the Communist International, which leads the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for working-class power, for socialism throughout the world.

The whole of Lenin's life was devoted to working out the revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics of the proletariat, to the creation of a proletarian party capable of leading the working class to the overthrow of the power of the exploiting classes and to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Russian proletariat succeeded in gaining its great October victory only thanks to the fact that Lenin created and fostered the Bolshevik Party, armed with the best scientific theory, strategy and tactics, and uniting in its ranks the best sons of the working class who were completely devoted to the struggle for the proletarian revolution and were capable of making the greatest sacrifices.

The great October socialist revolution, carried out by the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, laid the foundation for a new era in the development of human society, namely, the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the era of the world socialist revolution.

"Lenin's greatness, above all, lies in the fact that in creating the Soviet Republic, he thus gave a practical demonstration to the oppressed masses of the whole world that there is still hope of ridding themselves of their oppressors, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists is not eternal, that the kingdom of labor can be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, and that this kingdom must be created on earth and not in heaven. In this way he filled the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. And this explains the fact that Lenin's name became the most beloved name for the toilers and the exploited masses." *

* * *

Marx and Engels, the brilliant founders of scientific socialism, were Lenin's teachers. But, brilliant thinkers as Marx and Engels were, they could not foresee all the possibilities of the development of the class struggle over the many decades following their death, in the new period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Lenin was the brilliant disciple of Marx and Engels, the one who continued their work, and not only re-established Marxism, distorted as it was by the theoreticians of the Second International, but developed it further in accordance with the needs of the proletarian class struggle in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

There is a whole chasm between the Marxism of Lenin and the "Marxism" of the Social-Democrats of the Second International and of the renegades from Communism.

The Social-Democrats openly revised Marxism by leaving out its revolutionary essence, while the renegades from the Communist Movement (Ryazanov, Zinoviev and others), in spite of the spirit of the ever-living and ever-developing teachings of Marx, have repeatedly tried to make out that Marx and Engels having said everything there was to say, all that is left for those who come after them is to repeat and explain this doctrine. Such an interpretation of Marxism converts Marxism into a dogma, into a congealed formula.

This dogmatic conception of Marxism was alien to Lenin, the disciple, who continued the work of Marx and Engels.

The manner in which Lenin understood the development of Marxism is best shown in his works. In his *State and Revolution* (end of chapter 3), where he counterposes Marx to the utopians, Lenin says the following:

> "Marx deduced from the whole history of Socialism and of political struggle that the State was bound to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from the political State to the non-State) would be the 'proletariat organized as the ruling class.' But Marx did not undertake the task of 'discovering' the political 'forms' of this future age. He limited himself to an exact observation of French history, its analysis and the conclusion to which the year 1851 has led, *viz.*, that matters were moving towards the destruction of the capitalist machinery of the State.
>
> "And when the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat burst forth, Marx, in spite of the failure of that movement, in spite of its short life and its patent weakness, began to study what political forms it had disclosed.
>
> "The Commune was the form 'discovered at last' by the proletarian revolution, under which the

* J. Stalin: "On Lenin."

> economic liberation of Labor can proceed. The Commune was the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to *break up* the bourgeois State, and constitutes the political form, 'discovered at last,' which can and must take the place of the broken machine. We shall see below that the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, in different surroundings and under different circumstances, have confirmed Marx's brilliant analysis of history."

It was in this Marxist fashion that Lenin understood Marxism, as the scientific theory of the class struggle of the proletariat, gradually supplemented and further developed on the basis of the new historical experience of this struggle.

Thus, continuing the work of Marx, Lenin, in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 pointed to the Soviets as the concrete form to be taken by the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries where it is possible to bring about the transition to socialism.

Lenin developed Marxism further on the basis of a study of the historical course of the development of the working class movement. Since the period when the center of the revolutionary storms was transferred to Russia, when Russian problems became the basic problems facing the international working class movement, the further development of Marxist thought became mainly linked with the development of the Russian working class movement, with the development of the Bolshevik Party and its struggle for the overthrow of tsarism and capitalism, for working class power.

The victory of the socialist revolution in former tsarist Russia, the establishment of the Socialist Soviet Union, was not only the mightiest historical triumph of Marxism-Leninism—the only genuine Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions—but made the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory necessary and possible.

The German fascists have proclaimed that they have annihilated Marxism in Germany. . . . But hardly a year after this solemn statement was made Goering himself was forced to make a new statement to the effect that Marxism is alive, that the struggle against it must be intensified, and that Marxism cannot be destroyed in Germany without destroying it on a world scale. Marxism is alive in Germany, we say, because it cannot be destroyed, since the working class exists, and Marxism is the revolutionary theory of this class. What has been destroyed is only the pseudo-Marxism of Social-Democracy with the aid of which Social-Democracy held back the masses from the revolutionary struggle, as well as the democratic illusions of the masses.

It is only the Social-Democratic, anti-Marxist theory regarding the peaceful democratic road to socialism that has become bankrupt.

Marxism-Leninism is not only alive. In the Soviet Union, Lenin's Party is in power and is advancing from victory to victory. Thanks to the Leninist leadership of the Bolshevik Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., thanks to the leadership of our brilliant leader, Comrade Stalin, the eleven years that have passed without Lenin have brought the toiling masses a number of new tremendous victories. Socialist heavy industry has successfully over-fulfilled its plan, and the working class has scaled new heights of modern technique. The collective farm system has become consolidated finally and irrevocably, the collective farmers are becoming well-to-do and the collective farms are becoming Bolshevik farms. The ability of the U.S.S.R. to defend itself has grown enormously and has provided the toiling masses with new possibilities for defending their rights to engage in socialist construction and to attain a better life. The most important capitalist States have been compelled to invite the Soviet Union into the League of Nations and to recognize it as a great Power. The Bolshevik words uttered by the representative of the first socialist State have begun to be heard from the tribune of the League of Nations, this assembly of the most important representatives of the capitalist world.

There is a growth throughout the world of the sympathy of very large masses of toilers for the Soviet Union, the land which shows the oppressed of all countries that the road to their liberation lies through armed uprising against the exploiting classes, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat which means broad democracy for all those who toil and a ruthless dictatorship against the exploiting classes.

These huge successes achieved by the Soviet Union are successes gained by the theory, strategy and tactics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and constitute the realization in practice of what is the only correct scientific theory.

The socialist development of the Soviet Union necessitates the further development of the theory of Marx and Lenin. The existence of the socialist State has enriched the proletariat by new methods of struggle against the tyranny of the exploiting classes. Socialism has been converted from a theory into a real activity being carried out by 170,000,000 people. Not only has the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin been demonstrated thereby, but it has also determined the path of the development of the entire world to socialism. Not only has the theory of the transition from capitalism to socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat been confirmed thereby, but it has also provided an example of how to carry this theory into practice. Therefore, anyone who seriously faces the problem of the struggle for socialism must study the experiences of the Soviet Union, and master the

theory which has led the Soviet Union to world-historic victories. Therefore, anyone who adopts a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union, who refuses to recognize this tremendous process of the reconstruction of human society, is a pseudo-socialist, *i.e.*, a socialist only in words, and in practice an adherent of the existing capitalist system of the oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses.

Marx and Engels formulated the laws of the development of capitalist society and demonstrated that the contradictions between the development of the productive forces and the relations of production which have become a hindrance to it under capitalism inevitably lead to the socialist revolution, and proved that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be the transitional form from capitalism to socialism, from the State to a society without a State. Lenin developed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat further, and disclosed the Soviets as the concrete form for bringing about this dictatorship. He proved that it is possible to break the imperial chain of States first of all in the weakest links in this chain, proved that the victory of socialism in a single country is possible, and defined the tactics and strategy of the proletariat in the socialist revolution. Stalin developed the theory of the transition from capitalism to socialism to a higher stage. In the culminating period which to a certain extent called to mind the culminating period of November, 1917, Stalin ideologically shattered those who departed from Leninism on the question which has become a fundamental one, namely, that of the possibility of constructing socialism in one country under conditions where the world revolution is postponed. He also showed in practice how this mighty task may be victoriously accomplished if the proletariat is correctly led, thereby creating a mighty lever for the development of the world revolution. At the same time, Stalin defined the tactics of the Communists in the capitalist countries when the proletariat is already in power in one country and is successfully building the new socialist society.

Lenin, and later Comrade Stalin, have enriched Marxism, and have shown the whole world what tremendous reserves of strength the proletariat has in what is the only correct theory, if guided by it in a Bolshevik manner. Lenin showed that the age-old dream of the toilers, their liberation from the hateful yoke of the exploiters can be realized, and that what is needed is first and foremost the creation of a Bolshevik Party, to liquidate all the opportunists, to isolate the leaders of the Social-Democracy from the masses, and to win over the majority of the working class and, despite difficulties and unavoidable sacrifices, to proceed to armed uprising for the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat. His brilliant successor, Comrade Stalin, has shown how socialism has to be built, showed what are the paths that lead to its final victory if there is a firm, unwavering Bolshevik Party, and that the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat requires immeasurably fewer victims than does continued suffering under the yoke of capitalism.

The successes achieved by socialism in the U.S.S.R. have proved to the whole world the correctness of the theory, strategy and tactics of Lenin and Stalin.

The victory of fascism in Germany and Austria which rose organically out of bourgeois democracy in the circumstances of the crisis of capitalism has proved to the whole world the incorrectness of the theory, strategy and tactics of Social-Democracy.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is becoming the theory of ever-increasing masses of toilers throughout the world.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is becoming the goal of the struggle carried on by ever new millions of workers in the capitalist countries.

Socialism is becoming the glorious dream of all those who suffer from the brutal exploitation and oppression of the toilers.

For many years Social-Democracy saved capitalism from the proletarian revolution.

"Petty-bourgeois democracy in the capitalist countries, represented in its leading section by the Second and Second-and-Half Internationals, is the main support of capitalism at the present time in so far as it retains influence over the majority or a considerable section of the industrial workers and office employees who fear that in case of revolution they will lose the comparative well-being they enjoy through the privileges of imperialism. But the growing economic crisis is everywhere worsening the conditions of the broad masses, and this circumstance, along with the ever more evident inevitability of new imperialist wars while capitalism is preserved, renders the above-mentioned support ever more shaky."

The first round of imperialist wars and revolutions could not as yet shatter this prop of capitalism among the masses of the people. It grew stronger during the years of stabilization. But as a result of the world economic crisis and the intensification of the world crisis of capitalism, as a result of the incredible torments of hunger and unemployment, and faced with the horrors of fascism and the threat of a new war, the formerly passive masses are beginning to come into movement. The social buttress of capitalism among the masses of the people has not yet been completely shattered, but is becoming more and more so in all capitalist countries:—

> "The masses of the people have not yet reached the point of storming capitalism, but the idea of storming capitalism is maturing in the consciousness of the masses—there can hardly be any doubt about this." (Stalin, Seventeenth Party Congress, C.P.S.U.)

The revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. The slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the slogan of Soviet Power, is becoming more and more popular.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. stated in 1933 that at any moment a turning point may be reached which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis. This turning point has not yet been reached on a world or all-European scale, or even in some big imperialist country, but sharp changes and turns of events have taken place in a number of countries during the past year such as demonstrate the maturing of a world revolutionary crisis and which in some countries have already led to the entire apparatus of the bourgeois State being thrown out of gear. The armed struggle in Austria and the general strike in France in February, 1934, the tremendous growth of the strike movement in America, the united front movement in all the capitalist countries, and particularly the armed struggle in Spain and the proletarian uprising in Asturias in October, 1934, show that the class struggle of the proletariat is rising month by month to an ever higher level, that ever broader masses of the toilers, formerly passive and far removed from the political struggle, are being attracted into the revolutionary struggle. The forecast made by Comrade Stalin to the effect that "the revolutionary crisis will mature the more rapidly as the bourgeoisie become more involved in military combinations, as they take up terrorist methods of struggle more frequently against the working class and the toiling peasants," is being confirmed.

The experience of the last year of the class struggle has shown the broad masses of the workers that if the fascist offensive and the preparation for war are to be smashed, all the forces of the working class need to be united and the level of the struggle must be raised to that of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The toiling masses in all countries are turning more and more to this path. The determination of the Social-Democratic workers to fight alongside the Communists is rising in all countries. In a number of countries agreement has been reached between the Communist Parties and the Social-Democratic Parties for the joint struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war.

The aim of our strategy is to overthrow the capitalist system as a whole. But taking into account the present state of the organization and class consciousness of the workers, the immediate tactical problem facing the Communists at present is to offer determined resistance to the capitalist attack on the standards of living of the workers, to sweep back the fascist offensive and the preparations of a new imperialist war, so as to prepare the masses in the process of these struggles for a determined struggle for power. The most important task, under these conditions, facing the revolutionary party of the proletariat in all capitalist countries is to establish *the united front of the working masses.*

For many years the Communists consolidated their ranks by fighting against Social-Democracy and opportunists of all kinds, and carrying on propaganda for Leninist theory and preparing cadres to lead big mass movements. But it was not possible for them to carry the decisive strata of the proletariat with them. But now, when the revolutionary crisis is maturing in all countries, when a profound unrest has begun among the broadest masses of the toilers, the Communists can and must address themselves to the whole of the working class, speak to millions of people and rouse these millions to the revolutionary struggle. The time has now come when the Communists must base all their tactics on setting into motion the millions who were previously indifferent to the revolutionary struggle. Only the bold application of the tactics of the united front will open for the Communists the path to the broad masses of the workers who are under the influence of the reformists, will make it possible for these masses to be taught the revolutionary class struggle, by raising them from the struggle for elementary demands and the defense of their every-day needs to the struggle against fascism, war and capitalism as a whole. For millions of Social-Democratic and unorganized workers the united front is a school of class struggle, no matter how the Social-Democratic leaders try to limit the scope of joint action. The Communist Parties must therefore display the greatest initiative, flexibility and wisdom at the present day, based on a study of the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and on the experience of the international labor movements as a whole. Therefore, the present international situation, which faces each Communist with tasks which are higher than at any time in the history of the working class movement, also presents much higher demands in respect to the ability to apply Leninist theory, tactics and strategy to the concrete conditions of the present day in their own country.

How can the masses be roused for the overthrow of the capitalist regime? How can the masses be roused to the determined struggle against the capitalist state?

The experience of the revolutionary class struggle shows that for this purpose all the forces of the revolutionary party must be concentrated on the point that is most vulnerable so far as capital is concerned. Though the working class is not yet ready to begin the storming of capitalism, it is revolting with all its strength against a further worsening of its conditions, against fascist terror and the preparations for a new imperialist war. The strug-

gle against fascism and the preparations for a new war, is drawing very large masses into the movement, showing them the disgusting face of modern capitalism.

Does this mean that in concentrating the struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and preparations for war, the Communists hope to "ennoble" capitalism, to ameliorate its morals, and to avoid war while capitalism continues to exist?

Is it possible to bring about a state of affairs where capitalism exists without war and imperialist robbery. This would mean that capitalism would cease to be imperialism, must cease to be capitalism, and cease to be itself. Is it possible to induce the capitalists to give up their attacks on the standard of living of the working class, to give up their attempts to destroy the last vestiges of the democratic rights and social gains of the working class, to abandon their transition to fascism? It would mean that in conditions where the class struggle is being sharpened, capitalism must not resort to ever more violent methods of struggle against the working class, must not transfer the burdens of the crisis and the depression on the toiling masses. Theoretically a situation could be conceived where capitalism continues to exist but is not in a condition to increase its plundering of the working masses, is not in a condition to throw itself into a new military adventure, is not in a position to reorganize its State apparatus. But to achieve this, such a pressure on capitalism by the toiling masses is required as would be tantamount to the beginning of revolution.

Therefore, when we speak of the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war, under the leadership of the Communists, this is a method of drawing the masses into a determined struggle against fascism as a whole, for the overthrow of capitalism in a revolutionary manner, because the masses have seen the weakness of capitalism and are passing on to the decisive struggle for its overthrow.

Therefore, the fact that the organization of the struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war is advanced as the basic tactical task, arises from the Leninist setting of the question of the rallying of the masses and the formation of the revolutionary army of the proletariat for decisive class battles.

If under these circumstances the Communist International places the tactics of the united front in the forefront, this is because these very united front tactics are the form of the struggle and of the organization of the masses which correspond most closely to the present conditions of upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the masses and can facilitate and ensure the approach of the masses to a revolutionary position, the rallying of millions of workers to the revolutionary front.

> "With the vanguard alone victory is impossible. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle when the whole class, when the broad masses have not yet taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it . . . would not merely be folly, but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of toilers and those oppressed by capital may take up such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not sufficient. For this the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions, confirmed now with astonishing force and vividness not only in Russia but also in Germany." (*Lenin*: Vol. xvii.)

The October Socialist Revolution was victorious because the entire working class and the broad masses of peasants took up a position either of direct support or of benevolent neutrality towards the Communist Party. In 1919 the German Communist Party was unable to win because it was an insignificant minority, only the vanguard, without the support of the masses. In 1933 the German Communist Party could not call the masses to the struggle because, although it was a mass party, it did not have the support of the majority of the working class; on the contrary the majority of the working class supported the Social-Democrats, and the broad masses of the working class had not yet become convinced on the basis of their own political experience that the only way out was the revolutionary way indicated by the Communists. In 1933 the vanguard of the German working class already realized the necessity of overthrowing capitalism and the inevitability of the incredible suffering which the proletariat would have to undergo under the power of the fascists. But the broad masses of the proletariat still remained neutral in this struggle against fascism. Therefore, the German Communist Party was unable to call the masses to the decisive struggle.

The masses learn rapidly under the heel of fascism, and under the threat of fascism. They need to be united and must be taught in the struggle. Socialist revolutionary consciousness must be brought to the masses by the Communists. It is absolutely harmful and fatal to expect that the masses will themselves arrive at an understanding of the need for the revolutionary struggle. For the revolution the masses must be organized.

The tactics of the united front and the strengthening of the Communist Party are two tasks closely inter-connected.

The Communist Parties have become ideologically strong in an unceasing struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war. In the first round of proletarian revolutions, the situation which was favorable for the proletariat could not be used to achieve victory in the foremost capitalist countries because the Communist Parties were still weak,

inexperienced and without authority among the masses, and did not know how to carry with them the broad masses of the people who were prepared to advance to storm capitalism. Nowadays, on the other hand, the highest duty facing the politically consolidated and solid Communist Parties, which know that events are moving towards revolution is to try now to break the masses away from the S.-D. Party, to unite them under their banners, to win their confidence by leading the every-day struggles on the basis of the united front, so as in the long run to stand at the head of their struggle for socialism.

The experience of the entire development of the class struggle of the proletariat shows that the victory over fascism requires that the struggle of the masses be raised to the level of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism. In a number of countries agreements have been reached between the Communists and Social-Democratic Parties for joint struggle against fascism and war. *This is only the first step, the first stage.* The united front struggle is an extremely important stage in the mighty liberation struggle of the proletariat, but in the decisive class struggles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism, the proletariat will only be victorious *under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, under the banner of the Communist International.*

Therefore the task of all tasks is to strengthen the Communist Parties and to carry on a determined struggle against conciliation and opportunism, for the winning of the majority of the working class and to prepare them for decisive class battles.

The Bolsheviks were strong in the fact that over 30 years ago, at the dawn of the Russian working class movement, they split away from Menshevism, and cleansed their Party of the opportunists, the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks are strong now owing to the fact that, like Lenin 20 years earlier, Comrade Stalin in 1923-26 recognized in the disputes with Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev the new Menshevism which led to the departure of the followers of Trotsky and Zinoviev into the camp of counter- revolution.

The Mensheviks, from whom Lenin and the Bolsheviks split in 1902 on the question of the first point in the Party Statutes, have long since become a party of counter-revolution and have fought alongside the white guard generals against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. The Trotskyites, who waged the struggle against Bolshevism on the question of the possibility of constructing socialism in one country alone, have become the foremost detachment of international counter-revolution. Zinoviev, Kamenev and Co., who at first combatted the Bolshevik Party on the same question of the possibility of constructing socialism in one country, trained the counter-revolutionary groups which organized terror against the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and committed the dastardly murder of Comrade Kirov, just as 16 years ago the gangs led by Noske murdered Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

In a revolutionary situation the masses learn rapidly and the Social-Democratic workers of yesterday are quickly coming into the camp of revolution.

But in a revolutionary situation ghosts walk quickly and opportunists rapidly slip into the camp of counter-revolution.

Lenin taught us to be merciless towards our enemies, but he also taught us to deal mercilessly with the opportunists—the agents of the class enemy in the ranks of our own Party.

A party of the proletariat which wishes to lead the masses to victory must be like the Bolshevik Party. It must rouse the hatred of the working masses towards the bourgeoisie, and teach them to be ruthless towards the class enemy. It must teach the members of the Party to guard the unity and purity of their Party like the apple of their eye.

In order that the proletariat can be victorious, it must have a genuine Bolshevik Party, consisting of the best people of the working class.

> "We Communists are people of a special mold. We are made of special material. We are those who comprise the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor to belong to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party founded and led by Comrade Lenin. It is not given to all to be members of such a Party. It is not given to all to withstand the stress and storm that accompanies membership in such a Party. Sons of the working class, sons of poverty and struggle, sons of incredible privation and heroic efforts—these are the ones who must first of all be members of such a Party. That is why the Leninist Party, the Communist Party, at the same time calls itself the Party of the working class." (Joseph Stalin, *Lenin.*)

ON THE OUTCOME OF THE PLEBISCITE IN THE SAAR

By F. DAVID

THE Saar plebiscite has occupied the center of the attention of the whole of the working-class movement of the whole world for many months past. This small region of 800,000 inhabitants has of late drawn to itself the attention not only of the workers of Germany, but far beyond its own boundaries. It was not so much the fate of the inhabitants of the Saar, as chiefly the influence that the outcome of the

plebiscite would have upon the position of German fascism, that agitated both the enemies and the supporters of fascism.

The voting took place on January 13. There took part in it 529,000 persons, of whom 476,000 voted in favor of joining Germany, 46,600 for the maintenance of the regime of the League of Nations (status quo), and 2,000 for joining France.

Nobody doubted that the majority of voters would be in favor of joining Germany. One of the best informed journalists in France, D'Ormesson, on the eve of January 13, wrote in the *Temps* as follows: "If Hitler gets a majority not exceeding 75 per cent in the Saar, then everybody will turn from him, including the present masters of Germany." What was not clear was the extent of this majority. The voting showed that 90.8 per cent voted in favor of Germany.

The Saar population has for many years borne upon its back the age-old quarrel of the French and German bourgeoisie. This little region, which can be traversed by train from one end to the other in half an hour, lies on the borders of France and Germany, and is one of the main causes for the imperialist contraditions in Europe.

The importance of the Saar for both Germany and France lies in the enormous wealth stored up in the bowels of the earth. There are 9.4 billion tons of coal beneath the surface of this small scrap of Europe. In 1933, the output of coal there was 10.5 million tons, *i.e.*, more than was produced in the whole of Poland and approximately as much as the output of Czechoslovakia. There are 73,000 workers and employees engaged in the mines.

These workers with the members of their families make up an army of 200,000 persons. The mines feed directly one-fourth of the Saar population. In 1933 only 8 to 9 per cent of the output of coal (948,000 tons) was delivered to Germany, 4,000,000 tons were sold to France, and the remainder—over one-half—was used in the Saar itself for the requirements of the metal industry.

There are 36,000 workers and employees occupied in the iron and steel works of the Saar, and, together with members of their families, they make up another army of about 100,000 persons. These works produce over 20 per cent of the iron and steel produced in the whole of Germany. But in order to produce iron, not only coal but also ore is required. And this has to be brought from the neighboring French deposits of Briey and Longwy. *German coal and French ore create iron, steel and the eternal quarrel between the imperialist robbers.*

This quarrel has dragged already over many decades before the world war. When, in 1871, Bismarck dictated his Frankfurt Peace Treaty to vanquished France at the point of the sword, he, of course, did not forget the interests of the Saar mining industrialists. Lorraine, with its rich deposits of ore, went over to Germany; it had to supply the Saar with ore. The Briey and Longwy mines, which lay 30 kilometres from the Saar, were left to France by Bismarck, since the ores from these mines contain a great deal of phosphorus and were therefore not suitable for production. But in the eighties of the last century a new discovery was made by the French chemist, Thomas, which made it possible to free the ore from phosphorus. The Saar metal industry began to use the French ores brought in from Briey and Longwy which lay close by.

Since then the Saar question has been a bone of contention between the "Comite des Forges" (the French Metal Industrialists' Union) and the magnates of German heavy industry. One side wants to own the Saar coal and the other French ores.

Questions of this sort are decided by the sword. And thus Germany was defeated in the World War and the Versailles Treaty was concluded. The coal mines of the Saar, which had hitherto been Prussian State property, became the property of the French government. The Saar was occupied by the French army. The motive for this given in the Versailles Treaty was to give France an opportunity of restoring the coal mines of Northern France which had been devastated by the war. After 15 years, as established by the Versailles Treaty, the population of the Saar had to decide by a general vote the question of to whom the Saar should belong: to Germany or to France.

Before Hitler's advent to power, there was no doubt at all as to whom the Saar population would vote for. All the political parties of Germany and the Saar, without exception, although for different reasons, advocated that the forthcoming voting should be in favor of joining Germany, for the Saar population is purely German. But when Hitler came to power, the question arose as to how to vote.

* * *

Why is it that in spite of the two years of the Hitler regime, 90 per cent of the Saar population voted in favor of joining Germany?

The point is that even huge masses of opponents of the Hitler regime voted in favor of joining Germany. In Germany itself, at the last general elections, where fascist terror is after all considerably greater than it was in the Saar, a higher percentage of voters, according to the information of the fascists themselves, voted against Hitler. Huge anti-fascist united front demonstrations took place in Seltzbach (Saar) on August 26, 1934, and in Saarbrucken on January 6, 1935, in which many more took part than the number of votes cast in favor of the status quo.

Huge masses of Hitler's opponents voted on January 13 in favor of joining Germany in order to ex-

press their national link with the German people and their protest against the Versailles oppression. Tens of thousands of those who voted for joining Germany will fight tomorrow in the anti-fascist front against the regime of the brown hangmen.

Workers in the mining villages said to those who agitated in favor of the status quo: "We want to join our German brothers so as to fight against Hitler together with them. The status quo situation cannot hold out for long. If the Saar does not go to Germany it will in the long run go to France, and our district is populated by Germans exclusively."

The Saar Catholics said: "Hitler persecutes the Catholics. But for the very reasons that we are Christians, we must join our brother Catholics in Germany in order to suffer and fight together with them."

The Saar electors voted, not in favor of Hitler, but on behalf of Germany.

For fifteen years the Saar has been under the heel of the French occupants. French officials and directors ran the mines, and behaved in a manner usual for conquerors. The mines were rapaciously exploited, the French bourgeoisie tried to get as much as possible and to give nothing in exchange. The most elementary safety measures to safeguard the lives of the miners were not observed. Consequently nowhere in the world was there such a high percentage of accidents as in the Saar mines. The majority of the stock of the Saar iron and steel industry is in the hands of French capitalists. *National and social oppression went hand in hand. The French occupants were at the same time capitalists and exploiters.*

For long years the French bourgeoisie has been pursuing the policy of Frenchizing the district in the Saar. French schools were established to which the miners had to send their children, often under penalty of dismissal. The French capitalists, openly in the first few years, and then behind the screen of the government commission of the League of Nations, gradually and step by step took away from the Saar toilers the few rights and liberties they had won for themselves. The population waited for January 13, 1935, with a view to putting an end to this rule, to express by voting their protest, their hatred towards the oppressors, and to avenge all their wrongs. And thus the population acted, and as a result fell out of the frying-pan and into the fire.

For a whole year the terror of the German fascists has been raging in the Saar. The German capitalists of the Saar, of course, led by Rechling, the steel magnate who at one time fled from the German revolution and welcomed the advent of the French troops of occupation, were not loath to play a patriotic tune this time. Rechling, in 1918, could not wait for the arrival of General Andlauer, the commander of the army of occupation, who was hated more than any other by the Saar inhabitants, and he arranged for the French troops to occupy Velkingen, his residency, before the date established by the armistice; now he has become the leader of the "German Front", a united organization formed by the fascists, which includes all the unified bourgeois parties of the Saar. The fascist terror knew no bounds, resorting to terror on the streets as well as to economic and moral terror. During 1934, the workers' districts and villages of the Saar were flooded with leaflets in which, among other things, it stated:

> "At the last minute we appeal to you in grave words!
>
> "You don't want to become a scoundrel!
>
> "You don't want yourself and your children to be hated and anathematized!
>
> "You don't want to be branded a traitor to your fatherland!
>
> "You don't want to emigrate to Lorraine in 1935!
>
> "Don't forget the year 1935!"

Landlords turned the open supporters of the status quo out of their apartments, who were frequently unable to rent rooms elsewhere. German employers and foremen in the factories invited the workers to join the German Front, threatening to dismiss them if they did not.

During the last few months the same practice was used by German managers and foremen in establishments belong to French firms. At the same time the government commission, appointed by the League of Nations and influenced to a considerable degree by the French, actually closed its eyes to the street terror of the fascist bands maintained at the expense of the German government. Long before the transition of power to the "Third Empire" in the Saar, the Hitler government, for which extra tens of thousands of votes in the Saar was of considerable importance, paid the French bourgeoisie handsomely for the right to terrorize the Saar population.

The Franco-German agreement, concluded long before the plebiscite, concerning the regulations governing the purchase of the Saar mines, contains several secret, unpublished points, as we are assured by the English liberal press. It asserts that the Hitler government has undertaken to make big concessions when the forthcoming Franco-German trade agreement is concluded; as well as several other very tangible concessions.

The demonstrative announcement about the agreement reached between the French and German governments and the transfer of the French management of the Saar mines to Lorraine a few weeks before January 13, created the conviction amongst the Saar population that the affiliation of the Saar to Germany

has already been decided and that the voting was a mere formality.

The Hitler government has spent many millions of marks on the Saar campaign. Besides payments to the French, millions were spent on agitation, bribery, the upkeep of a broad network of well-paid agents of fascist organizations in each town, in every workers' district and in every region, and on the maintenance of bands.

In the Saar, 72 per cent of the population is Catholic. The influence of the Catholic priests in the Saar is very great. The party of the Catholic Center which took part in the unification and joined in the "German Front", had 14 out of the 30 seats in the Saar parliament. In general, despite the exclusive industrial development of the Saar, the district is backward with all the narrowness of outlook characteristic of such a province. Only after the war did the population awaken to active political life. Before the war the Saar was the domain of Stumm, the well-known industrial magnate, and of the Catholic priests. Before the November revolution in 1918, the Saar was known in Germany as the "Konigreich Stumm", which had a double meaning: the kingdom of Stumm and the kingdom where nobody, except Stumm, had a voice, all were dumb (stumm in German means dumb). But even after the war, only a small stratum, about 25 to 30 per cent of the population, freed itself to a smaller or greater extent from the ideological influence of the capitalists and of the Catholic Church. The strongest trade union organization in the Saar was the Christian miners' union.

The Catholic bishops Treuer and Pflantz, under whose jurisdiction the Saar region was, called upon the Catholics to vote for Germany. Catholics who openly came out for the status quo were anathematized and banned from the church.

The regional organization of the German Social-Democratic Party of the Saar joined the united front with the Communist Party, agitated on behalf of the status quo; the C.C. of the German Social-Democratic Party, however, openly sabotaged the agreement between the Social-Democrats and the Communists. This agreement and the whole campaign on behalf of the status quo were in sharp opposition to the whole policy of the Prague C.C. which aimed at an agreement with that section of the German bourgeoisie and generals of the Reichswehr which is in favor of "reforming the Hitler regime" and of joint work with the Social-Democratic leaders. The Prague C.C. dared not come out openly against the united front and against the status quo in the Saar, but actually it did its utmost to sabotage it.

Although the leadership of the Saar Social-Democratic organizations declared for the status quo, they were against and hindered the organization of proletarian self-defense.

The leadership of the Saar trade unions all along declared against the trade unions advancing the status quo slogan, arguing that the trade unions are, so to say, neutral and should not deal with politics. Only in the middle of December, a month before the voting, did they declare for the status quo.

* * *

The Communist Party advocated voting for the status quo. Was this a correct slogan? Undoubtedly, yes!

The Communist Party approached the solution to the Saar question from the viewpoint of the interests of the proletarian revolution in Germany. Quite independently of the chances of victory in the Saar, the Communists were obliged to unfurl the banner of irreconcilable struggle against German fascism in the Saar, the threshold of the Third Empire. The Communists linked up the problem of solving the national question in the Saar with the general problem of the German revolution.

The task consisted of demonstrating in the Saar the determined will of the German working class to struggle against fascism and thereby to deliver a blow against Hitler. There is only one way to freedom from national oppression and that is the road indicated by the C.P.G. in its program for the social and national liberation of the German nation. A blow against fascism is a step in this direction.

At the March 30, 1925, session of the Jugoslav Commission of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Stalin, with his characteristic conciseness, gave us the formula of the Leninist principle of approaching the national question. He said:

> "The Bolsheviks never divorced the national question from the general question of the revolution, either before October or after October. The fundamental essence of the Bolshevik approach to the national question consists in the fact that the Bolsheviks always dealt with the national question in indissoluble connection with the revolutionary prospects."

Our slogan—in favor of the status quo—was dictated not only by the interests of the proletariat and the rest of the toiling population of the Saar, who, through the fact of the Saar being joined to Germany, lose all the miserable remains of those democratic liberties which remained after fifteen years' rule by the French. It was dictated by the interests of the organization of the proletarian revolution in Germany. Our slogan, consequently, was also dictated by the interests of the struggle against national oppression. Only a Germany freed from oppression by fascism and capitalism, only Soviet Germany, will become a center of attraction and will be able to unite together all toiling Germans residing outside of her borders.

At the beginning of the World War, when broad

masses of the people were seized with chauvinist fervor, the Bolsheviks put forward the slogan of the defeat of the "fatherland" and the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war. During the first months of the war these slogans met with a very weak response among the masses. But this did not prevent the Bolsheviks from stubbornly and persistently agitating on behalf of their slogans. They were swimming against the stream.

In November, 1914, Lenin wrote:

> "The war of our days is a people's war. It does not follow from this truth that one must swim with the 'popular' current of chauvinism. . . . Propaganda of the class struggle even in the midst of war is the duty of a Socialist; work directed towards transforming the war of the peoples into a civil war is the only Socialist work in the epoch of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations. . . . If not today, then tomorrow. . . . the proletarian banner of civil war will rally not only hundreds of thousands of enlightened workers, but also millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois who are now being fooled by socialism." (Lenin, *The Imperialist War*, International Publishers, p. 88.)

To vote against joining the Saar to Germany meant to vote for the defeat of their own bourgeois "fatherland"—it meant to swim against the stream. In addition the vote took place under conditions when there is no war, when the disarmed masses face the fascists who are armed to the teeth. To vote against their own "fatherland" under those conditions demands a high degree of class consciousness.

The Communist Party was not successful in convincing the electors of the Saar that to vote against joining the "Third Empire" means to cast their vote against Hitler, and not against Germany, the Germany of the toilers suffering under the yoke of Hitler. However, the Communist Party fulfilled its duty as an irreconcilable fighter against fascism; it showed to the whole world that under all circumstances it is the mortal enemy of fascism and will use the slightest chance to aim a blow against fascism.

A number of mistakes committed by the Communist Party of Germany, which had an influence upon the outcome of the vote, must also be pointed out. *The Communist Party did not concentrate its main blow against the nationalist, chauvinist intoxication which was systematically organized by the fascists.* To the incitement against the Communists as "traitors to the fatherland", it was necessary to reply with widespread agitation for our program of social and national liberation of the German people. It was necessary to raise fully the question as to what fatherland was being referred to. The fatherland of Krupp and Siemens, Schacht and Goering, Hitler and Goebbels, the fatherland of fascist terror and capitalist oppression, is not the fatherland of the workers and toilers of Germany. The fatherland of the German working class is the Germany which fought in the course of centuries for the liberation of the peasant masses, the Germany of the 75-year-old class struggle against capitalism, the Germany of Marx and Engels, the Germany of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Germany of Thaelmann.

In an exceptionally complicated situation, the Communist Party was unable to direct its blows against chauvinism, to develop its program for social and national liberation. This put its stamp upon the entire campaign. The campaign for the status quo in a united front with Social-Democracy—developed by the Communist Party rather late, only in the summer of 1934—was mainly confined to joint rallies and meetings, but joint actions against the German and French capitalists were pushed into the background. The Communist paper *Arbeiter Zeitung*, published in Saarbruecken, instead of a serious analysis of the situation, published sonorous "Left" articles that did not take into account the real state of mind of the masses.

The leaders of the Second International are rushing to use the outcome of the voting in the Saar as an argument against the united front between Communist and Social-Democratic workers. The inciter is the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, whose central organ, the *Zuricher Volksrecht*, published a devastating article on the subject of the Saar plebiscite and against the united front and at the same time against the Soviet Union.

Swiss Social-Democracy, which is at the moment passing through an acute inner-party crisis in consequence of its rejection of the united front, has seized upon this argument in order to aim a blow at the Swiss Social-Democratic workers who are rebelling against the policy of their C.C. The opposition inside the Swiss Social-Democratic Party has taken on an acute form in recent months, reaching a split situation in the party. Ernst Walter, the leader of the biggest Social-Democratic organization in Zurich, has been expelled from the Party and together with him a considerable number of important workers in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party; the Zurich Socialist youth organization has been dissolved. The C.C. of Swiss Social-Democracy wants to split the Zurich organization and to expel a number of organizations throughout Switzerland.

The *Volksrecht* tries to explain the small percentage of votes cast in favor of the status quo by pointing to the existence of the united front in the Saar. It alleges that, thanks to the united front, "different electors supposed that not only the question of the return to Germany of the Saar would be decided, but also the question as to whether the Saar would then be under brown or under red

terror". It is difficult to imagine that in the whole of the Saar region one single voter could be found who would suppose that the status quo meant a regime of red terror!

It is true that the Communist Party in the Saar region developed the program of the proletarian revolution, the program of Soviet Germany. This is exactly the things that the Swiss Social-Democratic leaders do not like. These leaders fear most of all a revolutionary struggle against fascism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet Power. The high percentage of votes cast for joining Germany called forth by entirely different causes, is explained by the Social-Democratic leaders as caused by the agitation of the German Communist Party for a Soviet Germany. This only shows the blind hatred of Soviet Power by these gentlemen.

The article concludes with a defense of the terrorists who murdered Comrade Kirov and declares that there is no essential difference between the fascist dictatorship in Germany and Italy and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. The C.C. of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, which signed the minority statement at the plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Second International calling for a united front with the Communists, were forced to print in their central organ, the *Berner Tagewacht,* a series of articles on the Soviet Union, where it was admitted that in the Soviet Union the working class rules, having in its hands all the reins of power and are themselves building a new life. The provocative attack on the Soviet Union in the *Volksrecht* is the revenge for the favorable articles in the *Berner Tagewacht.*

The Prague C.C. of the German Social-Democratic Party, with the consent of the Second International, did its utmost to sabotage the united front in the Saar. Now the Prague Central Committee is trying to use the outcome of the voting against the united front. The *Neuer Forwaerts* states:

> "The struggle in the Saar, which has concluded, has shown various questions in a new light. Serious thought must be given by those who have hitherto seen in the formation of the united front a great magic means to win the hearts of the entire proletariat and to smash all the jails."

This maneuver will not be successful. The leaders of the Second International, who by their policy paved the way for fascism, are the ones who are chiefly to blame for Hitler's coming to power in Germany and also for his coming to power in the Saar. Now, when in a number of countries in Europe the united front is making its first steps, they are trying to use the successes of German fascism in the Saar (the successes of the same fascism), whose coming to power they helped along against the united front of struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers.

The harm which the leaders of the Second International did to the interests of the working class, and the harm which they are continuing to do, and which led to the successes of fascism, cannot be rectified by the first endeavors of the united front. The lesson to be learned from the united front in the Saar is that the united front was set up too late, the united front limited itself in the main to rallies and meetings, joint actions against the German and French capitalists were pushed into the background. The conclusion that the workers of capitalist countries will draw from the outcome of the voting in the Saar is: to extend the united front still more widely, to convert it into a front of joint action against the bourgeoisie.

* * *

How will the outcome of the Saar voting influence the situation in Germany?

German fascism—this time in complete unity with the French government—is trying to convince the world at large that the return to Germany of the Saar will help to bring peace to Europe. This argument had no little effect upon those who voted as well, for they imagined that the non-return of the Saar to Germany would in the long run lead to the Saar becoming a *place d'armes* of future war. Actually, the outcome of the voting will bring fresh fuel to the adventurist and provocative foreign policy of the "Third Empire". Already by January 15, the *Volkischer Beobachter* had published a leading article which described in detail the plebiscites in those territories which had left Germany between the years 1920 and 1935. The article is written in a tone that is artificially calm, but points out, nevertheless, that frequently "these plebiscites failed to reveal the real mood of the voters". If the *Volkischer Beobachter* was cunning and diplomatic on the day when the figures of the Saar plebiscite were published, the *Deutsch Front,* organ of the "German Front in the Saar", published the same day an article inspired from Berlin, in which it says:

> "Germany still has frontiers which are open wounds. The victory in the Saar is only the beginning of the retribution for the robbery which has been made of German territories. We are beginning, with the Saar, to rectify the injustices caused to Germany."

The newspaper gives a map illustrating the article, and showing Germany's adjusted frontiers, in order to make what was written more precise. On this map of Germany, the following territories are joined to Germany besides the Saar: Alsace and Lorraine, Eupen and Malmedy, the north part of Schleswig, Memel, Danzig, the Polish corridor, Upper Silesia, German Bohemia and the Southern Tyrol. The

conclusion which the foreign policy of Germany under Hitler draws from the *outcome of the Saar plebiscite points to new sources of wars in Europe, new sources of a world conflagration.* The slogan of national-socialism is *to create a Germany one hundred million strong,* and fresh fuel has been added to this slogan. These tasks were formulated in black and white in a secret document on the program of foreign policy of the Hitler government, which was published last year in the *Petit Parisien:*

> "The task of national-socialist foreign policy is to unite all the regions which surround Germany and where Germans are living, and to achieve the return of the German colonies."

Hitler is trying to use the Saar plebiscite for a new chauvinist campaign. A mighty Germany, one hundred million strong, which will become the mightiest power in Europe, and direct its policy of expansion into the East, into Soviet Ukraine. This is what German fascism at tens of thousands of meetings is trying to knock into the heads of its listeners. But very soon the victorious exclamations of the fascists will be drowned in the cries of hunger and necessity of the broad masses of the people who have been deceived by Hitler. Very soon those who voted for Hitler will become convinced of their fatal mistake. *The blood of the workers is already being shed in the Saar.* In Germany itself the whole of the laboring population is groaning under the yoke of brown slavery.

The outcome of the Saar plebiscite is a serious lesson to the Communist Party of Germany. The Communist Party must show the broad masses of Germans its road for liberation from the social and national oppression. The Party must concentrate its attack against the systematic incitement of chauvinism by the fascists.

The heroic German Communist Party will boldly and fearlessly unfurl *the banner of proletarian internationalism* against the new wave of chauvinism, against new imperialist provocation on the part of the fascist regime, against the increasing danger of a new imperialist war and in particular war against the Soviet Union.

Against the fascist slogan of a greater Germany of blood and violence, the Communist Party will offer its program of social and national liberation of the German people, which will open wide the gates of Germany for the free unity of all toiling Germans. To the slogan of a "mighty fascist Germany", the Communists will reply in the words of the program for social and national liberation:

> "We are internationalists, because our class, the proletariat, is enslaved on an international scale, because our enemy, capital, has international connections, because only in joint struggle with the whole of the international proletariat can we obtain true national freedom. Only we internationalists can achieve the unity of the whole of the German people, because we alone can give true self-determination, true democratic freedom, social freedom, to all the toiling population of Germany. Only the proletarian revolution, only the revolutionary working class under our leadership, can be the force that will smash the Versailles Treaty and liquidate all the burdens of war indemnities, and will open wide the gates of Germany for the free unity of all toiling Germans."

The German Communist Party, which represents the interests of the whole of the German proletariat, will gather together all the toiling masses of the country into a people's front of struggle against the fascism of Hitler, and for its overthrow. The Communist Party will act as the organizer of the freedom of the whole of the toiling people of Germany from the yoke of fascist dictatorship.

The German Communist Party will widely extend the united front with the Social-Democratic and Christian workers, putting forward demands and slogans which the masses can understand and which they are ready to follow into the struggle, to suit every concrete case; the Communist Party, in organizing this struggle, will lead the working masses and their supporters, the toilers in town and country, to decisive battles for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Soviet Government.

MORE PROPAGANDA OF LENINISM

By K. GOTTWALD

LENINISM ENTERED THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA LONG BEFORE THE WAR

AMONG the broad circles of the working-class movement of the pre-War Social-Democracy in Western Europe the name of Lenin was comparatively little known. The basic works of Marx and Engels at that time were in most cases out of reach of the masses and the so-called "popular" literature which was dished out to us by the then existing parties consisted of a very cheap revisionist mess. As a result of this there existed a mass of confusion in our heads. There was not even one basic question of Marxism about which we had a clear notion.

The historic treachery of the Second International in 1914 took place in the midst of such an ideological confusion and opportunistic regeneration. True, the masses of Social-Democratic workers instinctively felt that something terrible was taking place, but they could not understand the essence of the events and

did not know what to counterpose to the treachery of the leaders.

Only Leninism opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands of Social-Democratic workers. My mind goes back to what took place in my case when I read my first book by Lenin. This was Lenin's *State and Revolution*. This book was a complete discovery for me: it seemed to me that a new world was opening before my eyes. I at once understood things which formerly, in the course of many years, I blindly passed by. Thousands of other workers felt the same way. And we said to ourselves: had we known *this* before the war, then our secretaries and Party leaders would not have had such an easy job deceiving us! I state without any hesitation: If the teachings of Leninism would have been in the possession of the working class of Western Europe before the war, even to the extent that they are known today, Europe today would look altogether different.

The situation on the eleventh anniversary of Lenin's death is such that the world is entering a new round of revolutions and wars. The Communist International and its Parties are a guarantee that this time the events of 1914-18 will not be repeated—and this is the work of Lenin and Stalin. We must, nevertheless, see that the majority of the working class in the capitalist countries are still infected with various anti-proletarian ideologies. The task of spreading among these masses the clear light of Leninism is the urgent revolutionary task of our Parties. This is especially in connection with our *united front tactics*, with our international struggle for *unity of action of the proletariat*, we must, in a comradely manner, patiently, and step by step, convince the masses of the Social-Democratic workers that only the road of Lenin, the path of Leninism, will lead the working class to a brighter future.

* * *

One of the problems on which there exsits great confusion among Social-Democratic workers is the *problem of the State*. This is so especially in countries where the Social-Democrats participate in the Government. Our point of view on the problem of the bourgeois State is pictured by the Social-Democratic leaders in such a way as to create a barrier between the Social-Democratic workers and us.

How can we destroy this barrier, how are we to explain to the Social-Democratic workers the real meaning of Leninism and how are we to build our arguments? I conceive of these arguments in the following manner:

You say "the State—that is we". You think: The State is a definite territory and the population inhabiting it. You think: The State is something above all classes and which is just towards all sections of the population. You think: The State is something mysterious, something, so to say, inherent in the nature of mankind, something which has existed since time immemorial, something which is bound to live forever, something unapproachable, something like the holy spirit floating over the waves. But all of this is a deep deception. Look around and think things over.

In what form does the State present itself to you? In various forms. It personifies itself in the form of a policeman with his helmet and club, many of you have felt the effects of this club on your own backs. Or it presents itself in the form of a gendarme with a rifle in hand. How often have you seen the points of their bayonets pointed at you during strikes! Or you see the State personified by the jailer with his big ring of keys, the jailer who put you behind the bars. I should think that many of you have made the acquaintance of the State in this form. Others see the State in the person of a tax collector. Ask our farmers and small handicraftsmen, for they know the State from this point of view only too well. Finally, our youth comes into close contact with the State in the army barracks.

Then the State is not "we", not the territory from one frontier to another, not the holy spirit floating above the waves; the State is something much more concrete, it is the police, the stool pigeons, the gendarmes, the country sheriffs, the judges in the courts, the army, the barracks, the prisons, the policemen, clubs, revolvers, rifles, machine-guns, cannons, tanks and bombing planes.

The State is an organization of violence of one class for the oppression of another class. Or, in other words, the State is a stick with which one class, the *ruling* class, beats the other class, the class of the *oppressed*. And in each case when this stick (the State) is in the hands of the *bourgeoisie* it is used to beat the *proletariat*.

In *State and Revolution* Lenin stated the following on the class character of the State apparatus:

> "The State is therefore formed, a special force is created in the form of special bodies of armed men, and every revolution, in shattering the State machinery, demonstrates to us how the governing class aims at the restoration of the special bodies of armed men at its service, and how the oppressed class tries to create a new organization of a similar nature, capable of serving not the exploiting but the exploited class."

But when you lead the Social-Democratic worker to this point he says: "Very well, let us suppose that this is so. But it is precisely our Party that has as its aim the seizure of political power and it also wants to take this stick, *i.e.*, the State, into our hands, into the hands of the workers. But, our Party is attempting to achieve this in a democratic way and not, as you Communists, by means of violence and bloodshed." To this we must reply: "Listen, brother, you think that the proletariat can hope to achieve victory

if the Social-Democracy receives the famous 51 per cent of all votes in the parliamentary elections. You are making a grave mistake. Let us suppose that the present Social-Democracy is really a proletarian party and that the votes cast for it actually serve the interests of the working class (in reality the situation is absolutely different). As long as the capitalists maintain power and as long as they are the masters over the means of production, they will hold in their hands also the monopoly over education, propaganda and agitation. They control the schools, the church, the theaters, the cinema, the press, the books, they own the printing machines, paper, radio, buildings, meeting halls, libraries, etc. What is the value, in the face of such a monopoly, of all the pitiful means of agitation at the disposal of the workers? Is it not clear that the ruling bourgeoisie with the help of its monopoly of education and agitation can spread *its* ideology in the ranks of the workers and even to a greater extent among the wavering sections of the petty bourgeoisie? How is it possible under these conditions for a real working class party ever to receive '51 per cent' of the votes?"

This is one side of the question. But let us go further. Let us suppose that on one fine day parliament will actually have 51 per cent representatives of the working class. Does this solve the problem of "political power"? Will the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, bow to this expression of "the will of the people" and will it hand over to the peoples' representatives in parliament (congress) political power on a plate of gold? It would care nothing for the results of the elections, it would send parliament to the devil and continue to rule as before. Is this so difficult to understand? Has there ever been a case in history when one class "voluntarily" transferred power to another? Never! Even the transformation from the rule of feudalism to the rule of the bourgeoisie was accompanied with a whole series of revolutions. And it is less possible to avoid revolution today, when it is a question of a struggle for power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This, then, is the second side of the question.

Finally, the living examples of Germany and Austria showed with the greatest objectivity where this "democratic path" leads to. No! It is impossible to avoid revolution!

If all of this is so, then the question here arises about the *organs of revolutionary struggle for power.* These organs are the *Soviets, as the broadest and most embracing* organization, not only of the working class, but also of its allies, *viz.,* the village poor, the toiling peasants and soldiers. Only the Soviets, representing the broadest organization of the whole toiling population and which are the embodiment of the leading role of the proletariat, are in a position to solve such a gigantic task as the destruction of the bourgeois State apparatus. Only the Soviets can tear the power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and establish a *new type of State, a new form* of State organization.

The fact of the matter is that the Soviets are not only the organs of struggle for power, but the *organs of power,* the basic organs of *proletarian dictatorship.* Already Karl Marx, after the experience of the Paris Commune, stated categorically that the proletariat cannot take over from the bourgeoisie the existing State apparatus and utilize it for its own purposes, but that this apparatus must be *destroyed* and another one set up in its place. And it is the Soviets that are this very form of State organization of the proletariat, moreover, the *most democratic form* realizable. In other words—the proletariat cannot simply tear this stick (State apparatus) out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, but must *break the stick* and make itself a new one, *viz., the Soviet apparatus.* The bourgeois State, independent of its form (monarchy, republic, parliamentary, democracy, fascism), represents the *dictatorship of a minority,* of the bourgeoisie over a majority, the proletariat and the toiling population in general. The Soviet State, this is the *dictatorship of the overwhelming majority* over a meager minority, over the bourgeoisie, and represents, therefore, the *broadest proletarian democracy.*

> "Under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by a thousand and one tricks—which are the more artful and effective the more 'pure' democracy is developed—keep the masses *away* from the work of administration and frustrate the freedom of the press, the right of assembly, etc. The Soviet government is the *first* in the world or, strictly speaking, the second, because the Paris Commune began to do the same thing, to *attract* the masses, precisely the *exploited* masses, to the work of administration. For the toiling masses, participation in bourgeois parliaments (which *never decide* the important questions under bourgeois democracy, because they are decided by the Stock Exchange and the banks) is *hindered* by a thousand and one obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, *instruments for the oppression* of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, institutions of the hostile class, of the exploiting minority.
>
> "The Soviets are the direct organization of the toiling and exploited masses themselves, which *enables* them to organize and administer the State themselves in every possible way. And in this it is precisely the vanguard of the toiling and exploited, the urban proletariat, that enjoys the advantage in that it is best organized by the large enterprises; it is much easier for it to elect and watch elections. The Soviet organization automatically *helps* to unite all the toilers and exploited round their vanguard, the proletariat. The old bourgeois apparatus, the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc., which are the more varied the more

highly bourgeois democracy is developed—all this disappears under the Soviet organization. Freedom of the press ceases to be hypocrisy, because the printing presses and stocks of paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie. The same thing applies to the best buildings, the palaces, the mansions and manor houses. The Soviet government has taken thousands and thousands of these best buildings from the exploiters, and in this way it has made the right of assembly—without which democracy is a fraud—a million times more 'democratic'. The indirect elections to the non-local Soviets make it easier to hold Congresses of Soviets, they make the *entire apparatus* less costly, more flexible, more accessible to the workers and peasants at a time when life is seething and it is necessary to be able quickly to recall a deputy or to elect him to the general Congress of Soviets.

"Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy: Soviet government is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic." (V. I. Lenin. *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, pp. 32-33.)

Is any better confirmation needed for these words of Lenin than the biographies of hundreds, thousands, and millions of Soviet proletarian men and women, collective farm men and women who have become genuine leaders of Soviet organs, factories, State farms, collective farms, and military units. Is any better illustration needed for these words than those new and determined steps, confirmed by the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., for the further development of Soviet Democracy? Yes, within the Soviet borders, every toiler can say with truth: "The State—that is we!"

The "pure" democrats from the Second International have performed the most crooked tricks with the conception of dictatorship. For example, in Germany there exists a dictatorship, and a dictatorship exists also in the Soviet Union. But what deduction do they draw from this? The dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. (*i.e.*, proletarian dictatorship) and the dictatorship in fascist Germany (*i.e.*, dictatorship of the capitalist class), are, they claim, one and the same thing. Or, they say, in capitalist countries the workers work for wages, and in the Soviet Union they work for wages. They therefore conclude this is one and the same thing. Or, they claim that in the capitalist countries there exists an army, the police and the gendarmes, and in the Soviet Union there is an army, the militia and the G.P.U. The conclusion is—both of these are one and the same thing. And no matter how impossible this may sound, the workers sometimes believe them. The explanation of why they believe them is quite simple.

Let us return to our comparison of the State with a stick. The fascist dictatorship in Germany and the dictatorship of capital in all capitalist countries in general is a stick. The proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is also a stick. True, it is a stick of a different character altogether. Then, they are "one and the same thing", but at the same time they are as different as heaven and earth. In capitalist countries this stick is used to beat the proletariat and the toiling population. In the Soviet Union this stick is in the hands of the proletariat who uses it to beat his former exploiters. And this is no longer one and the same thing. This is just the same as if I am the one that's beaten or the one who is doing the beating.

It is true that in the Soviet Union the workers work for wages. But to whom do all the factories, all the machines, and all the means of production in the Soviet Union belong? They belong to the toiling population and its proletarian State, the Soviets, and to whom belong the factories in the capitalist countries? To the capitalists. Then perhaps this is one and the same thing? But then it would be one and the same thing if I work for my own benefit or when I work for some exploiter. Each of us understands that this is not the same. Certainly, in the Soviet Union there is an army, militia and in general an armed State apparatus. But in whose hands is this apparatus? It is in *the hands of the proletariat*. Against whom is this apparatus used? It is used against the remnants of the bourgeoisie and their allies at home and abroad. However, in whose hands is the State apparatus in the capitalist countries? In the hands of the bourgeoisie. Against whom is this apparatus directed? Against the toiling population. Is there not a difference here? Is this one and the same thing? Certainly a prison remains a prison. But the whole question is who is thrown into this prison? In capitalist countries it is the toilers who are cast into prison, while in the Soviet Union it is the counter-revolutionary White Guards and bourgeois bandits who are put behind the bars. And there certainly is a big difference in that.

* * *

In connection with the problem of the State, the mass of Social-Democratic workers attach very great importance to the question of *"defense of the fatherland"*. In this question on our part there should be a very patient and painstaking explanation to help the Social-Democratic workers to appreciate our point of view. First of all, we have to deal here with such a question: the character of any given war is not decided by the war being "defensive" or "aggressive", because the bourgeoisie of each country always considers "its" war as "defensive". This question is decided by *what class* is conducting the war. This and nothing else defines the character and the aims of the war. If the war is being conducted by a reactionary class, by the bourgeoisie, then the character and aims of such a war are *reactionary*, irrespective of which side is the "aggressor". Further, we must explain to the Social-Democratic workers, that the

proletariat can only in the last resort avert such a reactionary imperialist war in one country or another by means of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and establishing Soviet Power. It is also in this very same manner that the proletariat can reach a conclusion of the war most favorable to the toiling masses if the war has already begun.

We must explain to the Social-Democratic workers that the slogan of "defend the fatherland" is tantamount to a complete rejection of the class struggle and leads to the subordination of the interests of the proletariat, to the interests of the bourgeoisie, particularly at a time when *the bourgeoisie is in a most difficult position, when its entire system is being torn to pieces by deep crisis.* We contrast this with our slogan of the defeat of the bourgeoisie of our country. We call upon the proletariat to utilize to a maximum degree the difficulties and the crisis of bourgeois rule in order to deliver a death-blow to the bourgeoisie. It is precisely in this that the *root* of Bolshevik-Leninist tactics during imperialist war lies. The October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union are glaring proof of the correctness of this tactic. How fatal the social-chauvinist tactic of "defending the fatherland" is can be seen from the entire experience of the war and post-war period. For this tactic gave the bourgeoisie the possibility of emerging from its fatal crisis of the war and post-war period and preparing the masses for a new blood bath.

In order to show the Social-Democratic workers the madness of this slogan of defending the *bourgeois* "fatherland" we may cite the following comparison: Imagine for one moment that you are sitting in prison. The prison is attacked, say, by a band of highwaymen. At this moment one of the prisoners shouts the slogan: "All in defense of our prison from the attacks of the enemy!" What would you think of such a person? Either he has gone mad, or he has been bribed by the prison authorities. And what would you yourself do in this situation? What would be the most natural tactic to pursue under these circumstances? You would say to the other prisoners: "Let us make use of the panic and confusion among the jailers, let's break the bars and the gates, seize the rifles and free ourselves from prison. The main thing is first of all to free ourselves."

Our "war heroes" of the Second International try to justify their policy of the "defense of the fatherland" and their preparations for a new 1914 by pointing to the Soviet Union. For, they say, what sin is there in voting for war credits, building battleships, militarizing the youth and preaching the defense of the fatherland if the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union are doing the very same thing? In such a case all crooks work according to the same recipe. There is an army in the Soviet Union and an army in the capitalist countries; there are tanks in one country and there are tanks in the other. There are aeroplanes here and aeroplanes there; the defense of the fatherland here and the defense of the fatherland there. It would seem that it is all one and the same thing. No, the one is as far apart from the other as is heaven from earth. The fact of the matter is that we Communists are not pacifists, but revolutionaries. We do not keep to the teaching that one should not fight against evil and put up your left cheek after the right has been struck. We are not against war "in general", but only against *reactionary wars* and understand the usefulness of *revolutionary* wars. At the same time we are not against the defense of the fatherland "in general", but only against the defense of the *bourgeois* "fatherland". But we are all the more for the defense of our *proletarian* fatherland.

Is any better confirmation needed for this Leninist-Stalinist setting of the question of the fatherland than the heroic history of the Soviet Republics? Yes, the word "fatherland" sounds differently there. It is not a false and hackneyed word by means of which imperialists lead sons of the working class to slaughter (and will do so again unless we interfere). There, in the U.S.S.R., the toilers have won their fatherland. And this fatherland is the real fatherland of all the toilers, of all the workers of the world.

RECOLLECTIONS OF LENIN

By ROBERT MINOR

I DON'T know in what auditorium it was that I first saw Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. It may have been the hall in the Metropole Hotel in which the sittings of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet Congress were held. At any rate, Comrade Sverdlov, who acted as chairman of the C.E.C., was there—one of the first of the Russian Bolshevik leaders that I met.

I remember standing at a distance and looking at the grouping of leaders around the rostrum — the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution!—and the great thrill, and the desire to identify each one by name. But I could as yet only go by impressions of physical appearance. A Russian comrade who had been in America, at my request pointed out Lenin.

My whole sense of proportion was disturbed; Lenin, a small, modest looking man, standing in a corner with his foot raised and resting on some object, so drably dressed, with a worker's cap and not even the polished high boots that were then almost universal—

Lenin spoiled the picture of a gathering of great men. I watched him closely to decide whether a mistake had been made; no, this was Lenin, he resembled his photographs, only so much less *important*-looking than all the rest. For some minutes I surveyed the company, entranced with the idea that here at last were the leaders of the successful revolution—the giants of action in the greatest of all events of history! My eyes constantly wandered back to the obscure, small man in the corner who was talking with someone. Then I noticed the peculiar play of his features as he spoke, and as he listened. Gradually he became the visual center of the room and of the gathering. Everything else faded into its place and proportion. Without having understood a single word that was spoken at the gathering I left filled with the impression of just one man—Lenin.

* * *

Boris Reinstein asked me if I wanted to go to see the "Old Man". Yes! How Lenin could spare the time, in those terrific months of the spring and summer of 1918, I do not know! But I believe it is to be accounted for by the intense interest he had throughout every minute of the Revolution in Russia, in the effect of this event upon the outside world and on the Socialists of other lands. I must have been with him on this occasion (I think it was in the latter part of April) for fifteen minutes.

Yet there was very little said by Lenin. He had the way, always, of making the other person wag his tongue, while he used his ears. He wanted to know every minute detail of reaction among the working class of the United States. He asked questions about the attitude of the trade unions toward the Bolshevik Revolution.

I told him of the appreciation among the advanced sections of A. F. of L. workers of the action of the workers and sailors of Petrograd (Leningrad) which had saved the life of Tom Mooney by inducing the intervention of President Wilson which caused the commutation of the death sentence by the governor of California. When I told him I conveyed the official thanks of the trade unions constituting the Mooney defense organization to him as the head of the Bolshevik Party for this magnificent act of international solidarity, Lenin said not one word; merely his eyes glistened.

We discussed the reactionary attitude of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, of which the Executive Board (as well as the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party) had refused to defend Tom Mooney; and the San Francisco top layer of trade-union leaders who participated actively in the frame-up and condemnation of the strike leader Mooney to death. It was mentioned that the aged Gompers supported the San Francisco labor leaders in the frame-up of Mooney. Soon Lenin said:

"About Gompers, tell me—will he *never* die?"

We spoke of the prospect of revolution in Europe, he mentioned the lack of reliable news; and then of the technical methods of getting information across frontiers. I confess that I was surprised to find the foremost chief of the world's revolutionary forces eager to talk about the smallest details of paper, cardboard, ink, etc., in regard to the technical question of transmitting information. Only on this subject did he do most of the talking; for the rest of it he plied me with questions. He asked about Jim Larkin, who at that time represented the pre-Bolshevik attitude among Irish-American revolutionists. I mentioned that in the last speech I heard Larkin make he had spoken of himself as a Catholic. Lenin's reply to this consisted of one word:

"Well? . . ."

Putting it this way, in question form, as though inviting me to proceed, bothered me until I had done a lot of thinking on the subject afterward. Especially I want to tell this incident to everyone in connection with the reading of Lenin's pamphlet, *Religion*.

In this first encounter Comrade Lenin began by speaking in Russian. I only knew enough to say I couldn't speak Russian, but could speak French. Lenin said he could not speak English very well. We spoke in French a while, he switched to German, and then to my astonishment he began speaking in perfect English, only slightly hesitating for a word now and then, but with never an error. (All of our many subsequent conversations were in English, and I do not recall a single instance of his making an error in grammar.) He appeared interested in knowing how difficult a foreigner found the Russian language.

* * *

It was about the second time I called on Comrade Lenin, during the months when the White Guardists were resorting to wholesale attempts at assassination of the revolutionary leaders, that he, after the first greetings, asked abruptly:

"What do you think of the Red Terror?"

I replied that I believed that if the bourgeoisie were not made to know that their efforts to destroy the revolution would result in their own physical destruction, the revolution would have been dead before this. To this Lenin said nothing, but from the feel of his eyes upon me I felt that the question had not been casual. After a pause and a few other words, he asked suddenly, and seemingly out of connection with all else:

"Have you seen Kropotkin?"

"Yes," I said.

"What is he like?" asked Lenin.

"He is a hopeless bourgeois," I answered.

"Yes?" he said, in a questioning tone. "How is that?"

I described my visit to Kropotkin, how Kropotkin, whom I had formerly idealized, had wildly denounced me for refusing to support the "war for democracy"

of the Allied Powers; and how he had continued the denunciation as a group of Americans in military uniform, members of the Young Men's Christian Association attached to the army and then on duty in Moscow, had entered and were bowing before him, greeting him (to his obvious satisfaction) as "Prince"; and how I had left, disillusioned with my "hero" Kropotkin.

Comrade Lenin's only comment was: "Hmm. . . . That's interesting."

But later some light was thrown upon this conversation: A man I had met as a translator in the press box at the sessions of the Soviet Congress in July, encountered me on the street and in much trepidation said: "The bourgeoisie is in a terrible state of fear and anxiety; some of the most influential are now trying to arrange for Kropotkin to see Lenin and to plead with him to call a halt to the Red Terror."

* * *

Lenin was speaking in a large Moscow hall, high up on a dais with several tiers. I couldn't yet understand much, but recall his constant reiteration of the word: "obyectivno!" (objectively). I had to shift my position by walking in front of the platform. My shoes squeaked with a loud noise. Lenin paused in the middle of a sentence, his finger raised in the air; he looked down at me with a pained, annoyed expression. I shall always remember this uncomfortably.

The unassuming character of Comrade Lenin became the more startling as I became more and more conscious of his character as the greatest force in the shaping of the world in the greatest moment of all history. On one occasion, as I was putting on my overcoat, about to leave his office, my elbow touched a large, revolving book-case, and several heavy books fell to the floor. Instantly Lenin in a matter-of-fact way stooped down and began picking them up, as he continued the conversation.

* * *

In the summer of that year I saw the hard steel character of Lenin, the Bolshevik, from an angle that had not yet appeared in my personal contacts with him.

A man whom I had known slightly in Chicago, or, at least, who claimed acquaintance with me in connection with the organization of the struggle to save Tom Mooney, turned up in Moscow, telling me that he, an anarchist, was commander of a "partisan" regiment at the front in the struggle with the Kaledin counter-revolutionary army. Although there was something unexplained in his absence from the front at that time, and some anarchists in Moscow whom I asked about it expressed doubt of his integrity, they later told me their suspicions were allayed, that the man was honest. But the man suddenly dropped out of sight. A few days later his wife came to me with tears in her eyes, showed me a photograph of her little daughter (whom I recognized even though I had forgotten the parents), informed me that her husband had been arrested, tried for desertion and stealing, and condemned to death by a Red Army tribunal. She pleaded with me to believe that her husband was innocent, that he was a victim of too hasty action and perhaps a "plot of disloyal elements", and begged me to ask Lenin to intercede for a re-examination of the case. I wrote a hasty memorandum of what was told me, expressing the idea that since the man had had a past record in the labor struggle in America, etc., it seemed that a re-examination was justified. With this memorandum I hastened to Comrade Lenin's office.

One of his secretarial staff took the paper in to Lenin, shortly returning, telling me that Comrade Lenin was in the midst of a Polburo meeting and could not come out; but that he had read carefully my letter and would instantly act as I suggested. Late that night a courier, one of the Lettish Sharpshooters, knocked on my door and delivered a reply from Comrade Lenin. It was written in his own hand in ink. I could barely read Russian well enough at that time to make it out, but its contents were burned into my brain:

> "Comrade Minor: I have caused an examination of the case of the person* as I promised. The facts are disclosed to be the following: the person deserted his post at the front during an action. He stole the pay of his regiment. For such a man I cannot intercede. It is necessary to shoot him [*nado rasstrelyat*]. *Proshchai*,
>
> "LENIN."

The above text is only from memory after sixteen years. The note was treasured by me and carried in my pocket until I was about to cross the military lines between the Red Army and the German army at Minsk in the middle of November, 1918, and it was considered necessary to get rid of all documents of Bolshevik origin. Comrades Bukharin, Radek and others were in Minsk, having come in with the Red Army. I met Bukharin and others coming out of a food store; they were half starved; each was loaded with his arms full of bread, sausages and cheese. When it came time for me to slip across the freight-yard in the night to the German lines so as to conceal myself in a freight-car full of German ex-war prisoners bound for Berlin, Comrade Bukharin pointed out that I would need my Soviet credentials up to the line, and that I would imperatively need to be *without* any Soviet documents immediately

* The person referred to was a commander of a "black flag" detachment on the southern front.

after crossing the line; therefore, he said, a comrade would go with me, to whom I could give my Bolshevik documents at the line. A comrade whom I had not previously met went with me and took the papers at the edge of the freight-yard. I did not recognize him or get his name with certainty. Could this note in Lenin's handwriting be found?

But to go back a bit. After the incident of my request regarding the condemned deserter, I visited Comrade Lenin several times; but always with other matters to discuss, and never was the case referred to again between us.

* * *

In 1918, during the period when the bourgeoisie of the Allied countries pretended to think that "German war prisoners" in Siberia were being "armed by the Bolsheviks" for the benefit of the Kaiser, I suggested to Comrade Lenin that three men, known as citizens of the three leading Allied countries, of France, of England, and myself of the United States, should take a trip over this territory and then issue a statement showing the absurdity of the wild tale. He seemed to think it over a few seconds, then said: "I am doubtful of that; ——— is a man who is here today and there tomorrow. No, we can't do that."

To me the most astounding thing about this greatest creative genius and giant of action, whose hand has guided the course of the human race in the biggest moment of history, was his habit of self-effacement in a conversation. After the Third Congress of the Communist International I visited him when I had a bad cold. He himself was not well, but he commented with sympathy on my cold. Shortly afterward he was taken down with a severe illness and I did not see him for several weeks. The newspapers and comrades' personal word kept me informed of his condition, and when he returned to work, I visited him. When I walked into his office, he asked, "Well! did you recover from that cold?" And when I left I remembered with chagrin that we had not spoken of *his* health, but only of mine!

* * *

The German revolution came, and the ending of the war on November 11, 1918. In a feverish desire to go to Germany, I arranged with Comrade Reinstein for a farewell visit to Comrade Lenin. There was a question as to whether I should not wait for the First Congress of the Third International, in which Reinstein said Lenin hoped I would participate; but the time of that was uncertain, the German revolution appeared to be on; and I regret to say that I decided to go.

This farewell visit to Comrade Lenin became involved with the fact that just at that time it was necessary to try to stave off the international counter-revolutionary intervention, and the Bolsheviks were raising the question of an agreement on debts. It was considered necessary to give the widest publicity to the willingness of the Bolsheviks to come to some arrangement on this score. For this reason, on my farewell visit to Comrade Lenin, I said that I would, on reaching Germany, try to get published in an American newspaper (the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* was considered most likely) an interview quoting Lenin to this effect. Comrade Lenin gave me, orally, for this purpose, a brief outline of what could be said on this subject. I made a none-too-good job of this interview, due to my own confusion on basic questions of the revolution; but the *New York World* did at least publish a very prominent "sensation" story giving great publicity to the gist of the idea—that Lenin was willing to make some sort of an arrangement on international debts. However, the Berlin correspondent of the *New York World* made alterations in the interview, shortening and vulgarizing the most important parts of it; making my not-well-done job into something much worse.

Three years later, when I returned to Moscow to the Third Congress of the Communist International, I met Comrade Lenin in the auditorium in the Kremlin. After a word of greeting, I said: "Comrade Lenin, I owe you a profound apology."

"What for?" he asked.

"For a very bad journalistic blunder that I made," I answered.

"Oh, I had forgotten all about that!" he said.

But I was and am sure that his was a friendly "forgetfulness". I promised myself never to make the same sort of error again.

* * *

In the fall of 1921 I had an urgent letter to send to Comrade Lenin, stating the facts of an important matter preparatory to a visit in which I would discuss the matter with him. I got a little boy, about ten or twelve years old, the orphan of a Red Army soldier killed in action, to take the letter to the Kremlin. In order to inspire discipline, I explained to the boy that it was a letter to Comrade Lenin; that he must go quickly, deliver the letter instantly, get an answer and return without a moment's delay. The child was tremendously impressed and rushed away to the Kremlin. I waited, and waited; hours went by and the boy did not return. At last, as night fell, in walked the young fellow with his head high and a very self-important air about him. I exploded with anger: "Where have you been, young comrade?"

"Oh," said the boy, "*I've been talking with Comrade Lenin!*"

I was told afterward at the Kremlin that this was true; that the boy had refused to give the letter to anyone but Lenin personally; that he had waited until

a meeting was finished; that Comrade Lenin had then kept him there and plied him with questions concerning the treatment of the children of fallen Red Army soldiers.

But about the same letter. It was long—about three pages. When I came to his office, Comrade Lenin began the conversation by saying:

"First of all, Comrade Minor, you ought to know that when you address as long a letter as this to a comrade as busy as I am, you ought to put up in the left-hand corner—very briefly—telegraph style—just what the subject of the letter is; and, second, just what you are recommending to be done. Don't you think you ought to do that?" (I think Comrade Lozovsky was present at this conversation.)

It was always a source of wonder to me that in all of the many times that I went to see him—probably twelve or more times—it was always possible to see him (with the one exception referred to above, when he was at a Polburo meeting). I was completely at a loss to account for it until I learned two or three things: that he made this a consistent policy—always to see, if possible, those who had problems to bring to him, that he was doubly interested in keeping in touch with people from *outside* countries, and, not the least important, that Comrade Lenin *organized his time* in such a way as to be able to make the best *use* of it. But one day I overstepped the limit: overwhelmed with appreciation of the fact that Comrade Lenin had found time to see me and settle a matter in a few minutes that I hadn't been able in many days to get settled anywhere else, I exclaimed: "Comrade Lenin, you 'have more time' than anyone else in Moscow!" Of course I did not mean this literally; I meant that he *managed* to avoid that inaccessibility which men in responsible posts often fall into.

But Comrade Lenin looked at me with an expression of dismay. "No, Comrade Minor," he said, "I *haven't* more time than other people!" On his face I read momentarily the huge and crushing burden that this leader of the world bore, a burden which undoubtedly helped to cut to fifty-four years the greatest life that a man ever lived.

* * *

Immediately after the Third Congress of the Communist International, a number of us from America visited Comrade Lenin at 12 o'clock midnight—the only time he was free—to discuss questions of Party forms under the conditions of that time, the question of our then intangible plan for the founding of the *Daily Worker*, and smaller matters. Comrade Lenin gave us very sharp and clear ideas upon these subjects. I cannot undertake to reconstruct here from memory the formulations he gave us in the affirmative of the two main questions we placed before him; his views are well known and in writing by himself, and inexact quotations are not to be desired. One of the comrades present, having strong factional ideas of an ultra-"Left" nature, constantly broke into Comrade Lenin's sentences with his own views. Each time Comrade Lenin stopped and waited patiently until the interruption was ended; then proceeded; but the interview was marred. Another comrade was dubious about participation in electoral struggles and asked Comrade Lenin:

"What do you think as to whether we should participate in elections of *administrative* offices; shouldn't we participate only in elections for *legislative* office, in which, if successful, the Communists would not take responsibility for the administration of capitalist office?"

Comrade Lenin replied:

"I think Eichorn made rather good use of an administrative post." (He referred to the Left Social-Democrat Eichorn, who, at the first stage of the German revolution in 1918 was given the post of commissioner of Berlin police; Eichorn used the office to distribute army rifles to the Spartakus workers in Berlin.)

* * *

The last time I saw Comrade Lenin was toward the end of 1921. I was about to return to America and I asked him to let me bring to see him the comrade who was to take my place. Comrade Lenin was intensely interested in all who came from the United States, and was especially curious to know of all indications of the turning of the native American working class on to the revolutionary path, at a time when the Communist Party of the United States was based mainly on the revolutionary immigrant sections of the working class. His first question to the newly introduced comrade was:

"Are you an American?"

"Yes," replied the comrade.

"But are you an *American* American?" asked Comrade Lenin.

"Yes," he said.

"Where were you born? America; yes; and where was your father born?" On being told that the comrade was the son of a European farmer who had migrated to America, he said "Ah!" Then, smiling in a quizzical way: "Minor is an *American* American. Comrade Minor, your father was born in America—and your mother? Yes," he continued, "And your grandfathers? On both sides? Yes? Born in America. Well, tell me, how far back were they in America?" I replied that they were in America long before the revolutionary war against England. Instantly Comrade Lenin asked:

"And in the American revolution, *what did they do?*"

I answered that all that were on record participated in the Revolution.

"Ah-ha!" he said. "You can use that in your trial!" (There wasn't any trial.)

We discussed long the matter of the factional quarrel in the Communist Party of the United States, mostly by Comrade Lenin asking questions. I don't know whether it was then or at some other time he asked me what was the nature of the quarrel, and I replied rather clumsily that it was a fight between "dreamers" of revolution and "realists". Instantly Comrade Lenin's face clouded at the word "realists".

"You mean," he said, "in the best sense of the word."

RECOLLECTIONS OF LENIN

By MAX BEDACHT

IT has been my fortune to meet Lenin and to discuss with him problems of our Party. The first of these meetings took place in April, 1921. There were in existence several Communist groups not united in one Communist Party. There was the United Communist Party, the result of a unification of the Communist Labor Party and a split-off section of the Communist Party. I was a delegate of this Party. At the same time a formidable group of the Communist Party still maintained a separate existence. We could not get together. Many of our comrades considered hair-splitting discussion about "action of the masses" as against "mass action" more important than the organizational unity of the fundamentally healthy section of the Left-Wing element in America.

My task at this interview with Comrade Lenin was to bring to his attention our problems and to get his advice.

A Red Army soldier had informed me of the time I was to come. As I entered Comrade Lenin's office, Lenin arose from behind his desk at the other end of the room and came to greet me, in the most informal and friendly manner. I had been concerned over possible language difficulties and started to speak to Lenin in German, because I knew that he spoke that language. Lenin said, "You come from America. Let us talk English." Our talk then proceeded in English, which he spoke quite fluently.

Among the numerous questions Lenin asked me, ninety-nine per cent dealt with the relationship of the Party to the masses, with the ideology of the masses, with the issues that dominated the minds of the masses, and, of course, with the methods the Party uses to get to the masses. He pointed out that the conditions discussed by Engels and Marx in their correspondence with Sorge and Florence Kelly are still predominant—a general ideological backwardness of the masses as a result of the strength of their democratic illusions, and, on the other hand, an abstract approach of the American revolutionists towards the workers. He complained that we in America do not understand that we have to start our work on the basis of the conceptions prevailing among the workers; we talk over their heads; we consider the problems of the proletarian revolution as an abstraction; we do not see that the revolution and the masses cannot be separated; the masses must make the revolution. It is no use to wail about the backwardness of the masses; our task is to change this backwardness into class consciousness.

Comrade Lenin especially emphasized the need of orientating toward the *American workers*. He pointed out that this could not be done mechanically by disregarding the masses of foreign-born workers; it was rather the task of concentrating upon the *problems of the American class struggle*. As soon as the American workers will realize that the problems we Communists discuss and deal with are *their* immediate problems, we will have access to them and they will listen to us and will come to us.

In discussing the difficulties of unifying our American Party, Comrade Lenin criticized the actions of some of the language federations of the Party, especially the Russian. He exclaimed: "Why does our Russian federation insist on being the leader of the American movement?" I cracked a joke, which seemed to amuse Comrade Lenin, by saying that our Russian comrades in America know that Lenin is a Russian and deduct therefrom that every Russian is a Lenin and automatically entitled to leadership.

Our discussion centered around immediate steps for the unification of our Party. Lenin pointed out that we do not yet have a Communist Party in America. The Party is only in the process of formation. No group can claim to be that Party. The first task was to crystallize organizationally a unified Party with the best elements of all the groups — Communist Party, Communist Labor Party, remaining healthy Left elements in the Socialist Party, healthy elements in the I.W.W. (syndicalist) movements, etc. In the course of this effort and in the further action of that Party it would crystallize within the Party a uniform Bolshevik ideology.

Altough this was my first interview with Lenin, I had seen him previously at a momentous occasion, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March, 1921. This was the Congress that decided upon the New Economic Policy. It was the Congress that rejected Trotsky's proposals

of the regimentation of the trade unions. It was the Congress that passed the now classical resolution against factionalism within the Communist Party.

I also saw Lenin on the occasion of a parade in honor of the Red Army returning from the suppression of the Kronstadt Rebellion. Lenin spoke from a platform in Red Square; on the same occasion I spoke from the same platform in the name of the foreign delegation.

The next time I came in contact with Lenin was at the Third Congress of the Communist International. Acting not only as a delegate but also as a translator at the Congress, I usually sat on the steps of the rostrum to take notes on the speeches. Comrade Lenin also sat there quite frequently to make his notes. He made comments on the speeches to the people near him. As a translator, I also had to translate Comrade Lenin's speeches; this was more than a labor of love, since he was very easy to translate. Although his speeches were packed full of content, they were simple in construction, in expression and in presentation. And there was never any doubt as to the point he wanted to make.

At the end of the Third Congress, upon the request of the American delegation to that Congress, Lenin granted the delegation an interview. This interview was held in Lenin's office at two o'clock one morning.

At this interview the whole American delegation, at that time already representing one unified Communist Party in America, discussed the problem of reaching the masses. The Party had been driven underground. These matters were the subject of my previous discussion with Comrade Lenin. As a result of that discussion I had made a draft of a resolution for an open Party in the United States.

When the delegation came to Lenin and the discussion started, Lenin pulled out from a drawer of his desk this draft resolution. I had shown this draft to our delegation and had been given hints about evident Right-Wingism and Centrism in it. Lenin surprised the delegation by commenting on the draft, saying that in general it was all right, except that the author was trying to be a little too radical; trying to be too radical is not so good, he remarked, —all one has to do is just be a Bolshevik.

The discussion centered around the problem of an open Party. I recall Comrade Nick Hurwich declaring that any step toward the establishment of an openly functioning political Party in America was out of the question. He opined that the Bolshevik conceptions of our American Party are so weak that if that Party would go into such mass work it would be contaminated by the backwardness of the mass and would lose what little Bolshevik color it might possess.

Lenin argued very patiently against this conception. He used a most simple analogy. He said—you are here on one side of the street and the masses are on the other. Your work, your aim and object require absolutely to get together with the masses. Do you think it is a good argument for you to say that the street is muddy and if you try to cross over you will get dirty? What of it if you do get dirty? But you will achieve your object—contact with the mass. The chances are that in your activity with the masses and within the mass, the dirt will be rubbed off. The Party is not only the bearer of revolutionary understanding among the masses, but the mass has a whole lot to give to the Party. Though there may be danger in contact with the mass, the remedy for the overcoming of the danger is exactly contact with the mass, work among the masses. The result will be the development of a mass Party, the improvement of its conceptions and its ability of leadership, and the growth of its influence.

Comrade Hurwich, not yet satisfied, claimed that especially among the leaders of our Party there were many ideological weaklings. They were Centrists and we would surely lose them to the backward masses. Lenin again answered with an analogy. He pictured two localities separated by a chasm. The interests of both these localities would be tremendously enhanced by the building of a bridge over that chasm. Without the bridge the communication between these places is cumbersome and difficult and time-consuming. What would you say, he asked Comrade Hurwich, to an argument raised against the building of the bridge, that in the course of the building of the bridge someone might fall off and break his neck and that to prevent such an accident the bridge should not be built? The main question, he said, was not the possible cost of the bridge, but the need of it, the absolute need to find a way of getting across.

Another question that arose in this discussion was that of parliamentary action. Our Party then was distinctly anti-parliamentarian. Comrade Lenin criticized us very severely for our stand on the question of parliamentary action. He pointed out that we approach the problem from a purely artificial point of view. We do not see that the democratic illusions of the masses cannot be overcome by propaganda alone; the masses learn out of the experiences of their own efforts. Our propaganda in the main only formulates and voices these experiences for the masses. But if we do not lead the workers into struggle, they will never gain these experiences; in that case our propaganda will remain hanging in the air and will find no response.

Some comrade then raised the question of putting up in elections, candidates for executive offices. This question was the outgrowth of a conception in our Party that it might be permissible for a Communist

to run for election to a legislative post, but that it was out of the question for him to run for an executive post. Comrade Lenin pointed out that this discussion could only arise out of a conception of capitalist parliamentarism. If we consider the question from the standpoint of our position as representatives of the working class, we would see that no matter what position we might be elected to, we can always represent the working class in that position. The idea that an executive post in the hands of a Communist would be bad can only arise out of the conception that when a Communist becomes a sheriff, for instance, he cannot try to be the sheriff of the working class, but must necessarily become the sheriff of the capitalist class and State. But a revolutionary sheriff can very well be and must make himself the defender of the working class against capitalist institutions and capitalist laws. Only bourgeois parliamentarism will maintain that the sheriff under all conditions must be the sheriff of the ruling class.

Lenin pointed out that in the German revolution in 1918 in Berlin, workers did not at all lose by the fact that Emil Eichorn became Police President in Berlin. Eichorn opened the armories to the working class and armed the workers. Isn't that something worth while having? Isn't it clear from this historic experience that the working class cannot lose by having its representatives in executive posts as well as in legislative posts, providing these representatives will follow a revolutionary line? Of course it is another question as to how long the bourgeois State will permit such revolutionary officials to stay in office. But that is part of the revolutionary education from the revolutionary utilization of parliamentarism.

No one could resist the comradely spirit with which Lenin discussed all problems, and the untiring patience with which he argued against wrong conceptions. One could not help being impressed with the fact that, although Lenin asked innumerable questions about American conditions and the status of our movement, yet in general he was better informed about America than the leaders of our Party were.

More tragic were the conditions under which I saw Lenin the last time. This was at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. His illness was then already evident. A nurse accompanied him to the hall. He looked sick, and his delivery of the speech he had come to make showed that he was far from well. Yet his speech was as simple and as striking as any. This was to be his last speech that I heard.

A little over a year after he made this speech, Lenin died. But though Lenin died, Leninism keeps alive. It keeps alive by the action and leadership of the Bolshevik Party Lenin built. It keeps alive by the action and leadership of the Communist International founded by Lenin. It keeps alive in the leadership of the great Stalin, the faithful co-worker of Lenin, untiringly fighting to continue the work of Lenin. It keeps alive by the growing revolutionary consciousness of the masses of the exploited. It keeps alive by the victorious advance of socialism in the Soviet Union and by the Leninist-Stalinist leadership of the C.P.S.U.

REMINISCENCES OF LENIN

By WM. GALLACHER

IN 1920 I got appointed by the comrades in Glasgow, associated with the Clyde Workers' Committee (Shop Stewards Movement) to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International. We were at that time "Left" sectarian and refused to participate in the discussions taking place between the B. S. P. and the S. L. P. on the questions of the formation of a Communist Party in Britain.

We had the project in view of starting a "pure" Communist Party in Scotland, a party that would not under any circumstances touch either the Labor Party or parliamentary activity.

As I hadn't a passport, and as there was little likelihood of getting one, I set out for Newcastle, where, after a week's effort, I succeeded, with the assistance of a Norwegian comrade, who was a fireman, in getting safely stowed away on a ship for Bergen. From Bergen I traveled up to Vords, from Vords to Murmansk, and from there to Leningrad. When I arrived at Leningrad the Congress, which had opened there, was in session in Moscow, to where it had been transferred after the opening.

In Smolny I was made comfortable in a room while some of the comrades tried to find an interpreter. While I was writing one of them came in and handed me *Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder,* which had just been printed in English. I started reading it quite casually but when I came to the section dealing with Britain and saw what it had to say about me, I sat up with a jolt. I had come away from Glasgow with the notion that our case against the Labor Party and against participation in parliament was so sound, so unassailable, that all I would have to do would be to put a few well-rehearsed arguments and the B. S. P. and S. L. P. would be wiped off the map. It was a real shock to find that already before I had been anywhere near the Congress, all the fancy building I had been doing was knocked into complete ruin. But at that time all the questions raised by Lenin were far from

being clear to me, as was evident later in my speeches at the Congress.

I got to Moscow on a Saturday at midday, was taken to a hotel just in time to be taken to a "subotnik". I got a job till eight at night stacking pig-iron in a foundry. On Sunday I was persuaded to play a football match and got myself kicked all over the field for an hour and a half. At night I met and had a very interesting talk with a young French comrade named Lefevre, who had been lost along with another companion and three fishermen between Murmansk and Vords.

On Monday, with other delegates, I made my way to the Kremlin and to my first acquaintance with an International Congress. In the main hall, groups of delegates were standing chatting and arguing.

We passed through into the side room where delegates sat drinking tea, writing reports or preparing speeches. I was introduced to Radek, to Bukharin, to delegates from this and that country, and then I got into a group and some one said: "This is Comrade Lenin", just like that. I held out my hand and said "Hello". I was stuck for anything else to say.

He said, with a smile, as he was told that I was Comrade Gallacher from Glasgow: "We are very pleased to have you at our Congress." I said something about being glad to be there and then we went on talking about other things. I kept saying to myself: "Christ, there's war everywhere, there are internal problems and external problems that would almost seem unsurmountable. Yet here is a comrade supremely confident that the Bolsheviks can carry through to victory." Lenin joked and laughed with the comrades and occasionally when I said something he would look at me in a quaint way. I later discovered that this was in consequence of my English. He had difficulty in understanding it.

I immediately felt that I was talking, not to some "far-away great" man hedged around with an impossible barrier of airs, but to Lenin, the great Party comrade who had a warm smile and cheery word for every proletarian fighter.

When I got going in the discussions on the political resolution and the trade union resolution, I got a very rough handling. Some of my best arguments were simply riddled. Radek and others of them, when I got up to speak, never missed a chance of "cutting in". Naturally I would snap back at them and things sometimes got very hot. As I felt the ground slipping away from beneath my feet, I got very bad tempered. But Lenin, while carrying on an irreconcilable criticism "in principle" of my line, would always take the opportunity of saying something helpful, something that took away a lot of the soreness from the difficult position my wrong ideas had rushed me into.

In the Political Commission the same thing was going on as in the open sessions. Every time I got up to speak I would say things in such an offensive way that interruptions would start and then two or three of us would be at it hammer and tongs. On several occasions at these sittings Lenin passed me short, penciled notes explaining a point or showing me where I was wrong.

When the sitting would finish, I'd tear up my own notes and I tore up Lenin's along with them. It seems incredible now that I could do such a thing, but I never thought of it at the time. Towards the end of the Political Commission, when I had been very aggressive about the B. S. P. and S. L. P., he passed me across a note which in a very short caustic way gave an estimation of these groups. At night I mentioned in confidence to one or two comrades that Lenin had given me a note about the B. S. P. and S. L. P. which, if I had shown them, would have made them blink. "Where is it?" one of them asked. "Oh, I tore it up", I casually replied. "You what? You tore up a note in Lenin's handwriting?" He was aghast. "I tore up several," I said, "but they were personal and I didn't think he'd want me to keep them." This fellow, who turned out later to be a thorough renegade, got me to promise if I got another that I would give it to him, though it should have been obvious to me at the time that what he was interested in was the handwriting of a "great man", not in Lenin's politics.

Two days later in the Political Commission, in the midst of a breeze and while I was speaking, some one made a reference to *Infantile Sickness*. "Yes", I said, "I've read it, but I'm no infant. It's alright to treat me as one and slap me around when I'm not here, but when I'm here you'll find I'm an old hand at the game." This latter phrase caught Lenin's attention and some time later, when Willie Paul visited Russia, Lenin repeated it to him with a quite credible Scotch accent. When I sat down after this effort he passed me a note which read, "When I wrote my little book, I hadn't met you." I gave that note to the aforementioned renegade to my present great regret.

While insistent in carrying through his political line, Lenin gave both in the open sessions and in the Political Commission every conceivable assistance to myself and other comrades in order to help us to political clarity. He showed all the time the utmost patience and consideration and this when he was carrying the main burden of responsibility for all the bitter internal and external struggles with which the revolution was faced.

Then when I went to visit him at home I had my greatest experience. I sat down before him and we talked of the building of a party and its role in leading the revolutionary struggle. I had never

thought much about the Party before, but I began then to get a real understanding of what a Communist Party should be. He was dead against the project for a separate party in Scotland. I would have to work, join up in the newly formed party in Britain. I made objections, I couldn't work with this one or the other one.

"If you put the revolution first," he said, "you won't find any difficulty. For the revolution you will work with all sorts of people for a part of the way at any rate. But if you start off by shutting yourself away from every one, instead of getting in amongst them and fighting for the time of revolutionary advance, you won't get anywhere. Get into the Party and fight for the line of the Communist International and you'll have the strength of the Communist International behind you."

In all our talk the "revolution" was the living, throbbing theme of all that was said. I never had an experience like it. I couldn't think of Lenin personally. I couldn't think of anything but the revolution and the necessity of advancing the revolution whatever the cost might be. This, ever since, seemed to me to be the outstanding quality of Lenin's great genius. He never thought of himself, he was the living embodiment of the revolutionary struggle and he carried with him wherever he went the inspiration of his own great conviction.

During the course of the Congress I had another very close friend, Artem, who was killed in an accident the following year. Artem, or Serjieff, as he was more commonly known, used to talk a lot with me of the experience they had in the early days of the Party. He was only about 19 or 20 when Lenin broke with the Mensheviks. He was absolutely devoted to Lenin and the Party.

In the course of one of our talks he said to me: "We have another great leader who is never heard of outside the Party, Comrade Stalin. Often when there is an exceptionally difficult problem before the Political Bureau, all eyes will turn to Stalin. In a few well-chosen sentences he will give his solution and it's always clear and decisive." That was the first time I'd ever heard the name of Stalin. When I returned to Glasgow and reported my impressions of the Congress it was the first time any of the Glasgow comrades heard his name. It wasn't till I was over again in 1923 that I had the opportunity of meeting Stalin and learning at first hand how correct the estimation of Serjieff was.

On several occasions I was in the company of Trotzky. I spoke with him at a great demonstration at the end of the Second Congress in the Bolshoi Theatre but, strangely enough, I have never at any time exchanged a word with Trotzky. Not one solitary word. When I got back to Glasgow I told the comrades, "when you talk with Lenin you can't think about Lenin personally, you can only think about the revolution, but you can't come anywhere near Trotzky without immediately realizing that this is Trotzky". Long before he became a counter-revolutionary he was the supreme petty-bourgeois intellectual, who saw the world mirrored in his own image.

It was arranged that John Reed and I should go to Baku to the toilers of the East Congress there. Then a message came to the hotel, Lenin wanted to see me. Off I went to the Kremlin. "When can you go home?" he asked me. "I'm going to Baku," I replied. He smiled and nodded his head in a negative way. "There's a big movement developing in Britain," he said. "Councils of Action have been set up to stop the attack that is being made against us. You ought to get back as quick as possible. Do you agree?" "I agree," I answered. "When can you go, then?" he asked. "Tomorrow, if you like," I replied. He smiled broader than ever. "Why not tonight?" he said. "You could catch the night train." "All right," I said, "tonight. I've got to pack." "Good," he said, standing up and holding out his hand, "be very careful on the way back, and when you get to Britain we'll look to you as a loyal fighter for the revolution and the Communist International."

We shook hands very warmly, then I went on my way. That is the last memory I have of our great Comrade Lenin.

THE STRUGGLE TO ESTABLISH INNER SOVIET REGIONS IN THE SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES

By V. MYRO

CHINA has remained until very recently the only country where the overthrow of the old order and establishment of a firm Soviet government in *various regions of the interior* was brought about prior to the victory of the revolution on a national scale.

Is a repetition of such a situation possible in any other countries? And if it is, then what are the preconditions necessary for it?

The present article represents an attempt to answer these questions.

I. THE "GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION" OF THE CONTENDING CLASS FORCES

In September-October of 1917, when outlining his plan for the armed struggle for power, Lenin insistently stressed the point that "the decisive word lies . . . in the working-class quarters of Petersburg and Moscow"* and that the most immediate task was to "encircle Petersburg and to isolate it, and to take it by a combined attack by the fleet, the workers and the troops."**

The events which followed showed the whole world how correct Lenin was when he attached such great and decisive importance to the struggle for Petrograd and Moscow. The victory of the proletarian revolution in these most important industrial and cultural-political centers of the country immediately gave it a decisive preponderance over the forces of the counter-revolution on a national scale.

Comrade Stalin was also very definite in stressing the tremendous importance of Moscow and Petrograd, which became transformed into the main bases of the revolution. In an article entitled "The War Situation in the South", printed in the *Pravda* on Dec. 28, 1919, he wrote the following:

> "At the beginning of the October Revolution a certain geographic differentiation between the revolution and the counter-revolution was to be noted. In the course of the further development of the Civil War, the districts controlled by the revolution and the counter-revolution became defined once and for all. Inner Russia with its industrial and cultural and political centers, Moscow and Petrograd, the national composition of whose population was uniform, mainly Russian became transformed into the bases of the revolution. As for the outlying regions of Russia, and mainly those in the south and the east, they became transformed into the bases of the counter-revolution. These regions in the south and the east were without industrial and cultural-political centers of any importance, while their populations to a very great degree varied from the national point of view, being composed of the privileged Cossack-colonizers on the one hand, and on the other hand of peoples deprived of full rights such as the Tartars, Bakshirs, Girizians (in the east), the Ukrainians, Chechens, Ingushes and other Mussulman peoples.
>
> "It will not be difficult to understand that there is nothing unnatural in such a geographic distribution of the contending forces in Russia. In actual fact, where else should you expect to find a base for the Soviet Government than among the proletariat of Petrograd and Moscow. Who else could be the firm support of the Denikin-Kolchak counter-revolution than the Cossacks, the age-long weapon of Russian imperialism, who enjoyed privileges and were organized as a military caste, and who had long exploited the non-Russian peoples on the borders of Russia?
>
> "Is it not clear that there could not possibly be any other 'geographic distribution'?"

It stands to reason that such a "geographic distribution" of the contending class forces is by no means a specific peculiarity, one not to be repeated, of the proletarian revolution in Russia. On the contrary, it is characteristic of many other countries, especially in *Western European* countries. In a number of countries which are economically developed and politically centralized, the most important class battles, the outcome of which to a very great degree determined the development of the revolution, took place, as a rule, not in the outlying districts, but in the biggest cities, and most often in the capitals of the countries concerned. The revolutionary government in these cases at first established itself in the center, and then proceeded to spread its authority to the outlying districts. The defeat of the revolution in the center as a rule meant its defeat on a national scale as well. Thus, for instance, the main base for the great bourgeois revolution in France was Paris, with its heroic plebeian rank and file, and Paris maintained its dominating importance both in the bourgeois revolutions which followed in 1830 and 1848, as well as in 1871 during the existence of the Commune.

But it the "Russian" type of the development of the Civil War, according to which the most important industrial and cultural-political centers in the country become the base for the revolution, does not constitute a specific feature, one not to be repeated, but is of much wider significance, then, on the other hand, *this type of development of the civil war is by no means something obligatory for all countries and peoples.* The experience of the Soviet Revolution in China is above all witness to this.

In China the revolution has still not been victorious on a national scale. But the power of the Soviets has been established on one-sixth of its territory. The most important and vital centers in the country, namely the biggest towns, including the capital, are still in the hands of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang government, which has the support of world imperialism. But the workers and peasants, led by the heroic Communist Party of China, are masters of an important section of Chinese territory. The revolution has been victorious at different points in the outlying regions of the country before the forces of the counter-revolution have been smashed in the main centers.

Is this type of the development of the civil war a specific peculiarity, one not to be repeated, of the Soviet Revolution in China, or is it of wider significance? Is the "geographical distribution" of the contending class forces after the "Chinese" fashion possible in any other countries?

The history of the class struggle in the colonial and

* *Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 197, Russian edition.
** *Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 320, Russian edition.

semi-colonial countries provides a quite definite reply to this question.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most important class battles have in the past, at least in the first stages of the revolutionary struggle, been fought out not so much in the capitals or other big centers as in outlying regions. The far-distant outlying regions have in many cases become the main base of support for armed uprisings. Prior to being victorious on a national scale, the revolution has embraced the outlying regions, on the outskirts. The uprising has "spread" over tremendous territories, has dragged on over many months and on some occasions for years. What is more, at times more or less firmly established regions of revolt have come into being with their own revolutionary governments and armies.

The armed struggle conducted by the North American colonists against England lasted seven years (1775 to 1783), while the main base in the hands of the insurgents was far-distant Virginia, whereas the most important centers (New York, Boston, etc.) were in the hands of the British forces for a long time.

The so-called "War for Independence" of the countries of Southern and Caribbean America against Spain extended over a period of 16 years (1810 to 1826); and the armed struggle broke out in the first instance not in the residential districts of the Spanish Viceroys, but in the agricultural districts or in towns of second-rate importance, and it was only after the insurgent regiments had consolidated their forces to a considerable degree that the revolutionary armies undertook the offensive against the "capitals".

The Taipin uprising in China (1850-64) broke out in the province of Guansi, and after gradually spreading to the north, resulted in the establishment of the independent insurgent State of "Taipin Tyango"; and the main part of the country, including Peking, remained in the hands of the counter-revolutionary government and its army.

The Sepoy uprising in India (1857-58) covered a tremendous territory in the north of India; a big section of the country, however, including such very big centers as Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, etc., remained in the hands of the British.

The Persian revolution of 1908 also began in the outlying regions, namely, in Azerbajan, Gilyani and Ispagani districts, and it was only later that the insurgents advanced on Teheran and occupied it.

The "Young Turk" uprising in 1908 began in the far-distant territory of Macedonia.

The Mexican revolution of 1908 broke out in the northern states of Sonora, Coaguilya, etc.; and it was only after firmly establishing themselves there that the army of insurgents moved southwards and occupied the capital.

The Kemal revolution in Turkey in 1919 also broke out in the outlying districts of Anatolia, and it was only after the revolutionary government and its army had been set up and become consolidated that they moved forward to the most important centers. (Smyrna became "Kemalist" only in 1922, and Constantinople in 1923.)

In all the cases above-mentioned, the specific "geographical distribution" of the contending class forces was determined by the special features of the economic and political structure of the corresponding countries, by the character of the revolutionary tasks waiting to be solved and by the concrete correlation of class forces in the "centers" and on the "outskirts" of the one or other country. In all the cases mentioned, the forces of revolution in the "centers" were weaker, while the forces of counter-revolution were of greater importance than were those in the "outlying districts".

If, for instance, we take the present (Soviet) stage of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in China, then it contains, among other features, the following which are characteristic, and which exert decisive influence on the "geographic distribution" of the contending forces in China, *viz.*:

1. *A high level in the development of the peasant movement,* which assists in consolidating the forces of the revolution in the agrarian "outlying districts" and which renders it easy to establish inner Soviet regions long before it becomes directly possible to overthrow the central counter-revolutionary government.

2. *The weakness of the Kuomintang State apparatus,* which has become more or less firmly consolidated with the aid of interested imperialist groupings in the most important industrial and cultural-political centers, but which has not sufficient forces and means at its disposal to bring about real control over the "depths" and "outlying districts" where the revolutionary (Soviet) movement is developing.

* * *

In what countries *at the present time* is it most likely possible that the "geographical differentiation" of the contending forces will follow *"Chinese"* lines?

As we have shown above, such a differentiation in the past was also characteristic of the semi-colonial countries (China, Turkey, Persia, etc.) and of the colonies (North America in the 18th century, and South and Caribbean America during the first quarter of the 19th century). But *in the imperialist epoch* the most favorable conditions for the development of civil war along "Chinese" lines are to be found not so much in the colonies as in the *"semi-colonial countries"*. It is precisely in these latter countries that the preconditions for the overthrow of the old authorities in some or other districts in the "depths" or in the "outlying regions" can be found long before the forces of revolution turn out to be adequate for the overthrow of the central government of the counter-revolution.

Here we come right up against a question of first importance, namely, *that of the distinctive features*

which come to light in the imperialist epoch between the political situation in the colonies and that in the semi-colonial countries, features which are of tremendous importance from the point of view of the problem of the "geographic differentiation" of the contending class forces. But we must deal a little more at length with these distinctive features.

What constitute the *special* conditions of the development of the class struggle in the semi-colonies of the present day as compared with the colonies?

Each colony represents a sphere of the monopolist political domination of some one imperialist State. The State apparatus in the colonial country is, as a rule, an obedient weapon in the hands of the ruling classes of the imperialist dominating country (exceptions are only to be found in some colonies which have a certain self-government and especially certain British dominions). In the majority of cases economic domination in the colonies is also concentrated in the hands of the imperialist dominating countries.

In the majority of semi-colonial countries, on the contrary, no single imperialist State has a monopoly of political and economic domination. Here the struggle between the imperialist States for levers of political influence and for the commanding heights of the national economy is as a rule sharper, more tense and of a more stormy character than in the colonies.

This brings about a tremendous sharpening of the internal contradictions in the camp of the "national" ruling classes of the semi-colonial countries. Here we usually find a permanent struggle going on between various bourgeois-landowning groupings, who are connected with some or other of the contending imperialist States. The foreign capitalists, in their own interests, stir up and sharpen the inner contradictions in the camp of the "national" ruling classes and provoke plots, military outbreaks and "palace revolutions", all of which *bring about serious disorganization in the State apparatus of the semi-colonial countries, and weaken its power to resist the revolutionary insurgent masses of the people.*

By the very fact of this one circumstance, the "national" governments in the semi-colonial countries frequently enjoy only nominal power in a number of regions; in many regions their power is disputed by the local, civil or military administration, which in actual fact is independent of the "center". *This renders it exceedingly difficult for the ruling classes in the semi-colonial countries to undertake an agreed and centralized struggle against the revolutionary outbreaks in the "depths" and in the "outlying regions."*

Apart from this, the main instrument in the semi-colonial countries used to suppress the revolutionary uprising, are the governmental armies which are as a rule far worse trained, organized and technically supplied than the colonial armies of the imperialist State, to maintain which their masters beyond the seas do not spare either forces nor means. Thus, for instance, according to official data for the year 1931, the Brazilian Army had only 41 airplanes (with a total horse-power of 24,725) in a territory covering 8,525,000 square kilometers while the Anglo-Indian Army in a territory half the size (4,675,000 square meters) had 196 airplanes (with a total horse-power of 103,900).

It should also be borne in mind that discipline is far weaker in the armies and navies of the semi-colonial countries than in the colonial armies and navies of the imperialist States; during the last two years especially, revolutionary outbreaks have become extraordinarily frequent among the armed forces of the semi-colonial countries (the numerous cases where various sections of Chiang Kai-shek's army passed over to the Chinese Red Army; the number of revolutionary outbreaks of the armed forces of Brazil, Peru, Chile and other countries in Southern and Caribbean America, etc.).

Finally, whereas when revolutionary uprisings spread in the colonial countries, the imperialist States usually find it possible in case of necessity to secure support from the whole of their military power in the home country (by the despatch of reserves, etc.) in the semi-colonial countries, on the other hand, any attempts at open military intervention frequently come up against various difficulties of a diplomatic and open character. Thus, for instance, in 1933, when the revolutionary struggle in Cuba had become very much aggravated, the U.S. was compelled, having in mind the international situation, to refrain from direct intervention, although the development of events in Cuba directly threatened the interests of U.S. capital.

Thus, as a result of a number of causes and especially *as a result of the tremendous weakness of the State apparatus existing there,* by comparison with the colonial countries, the *semi-colonial* countries present more favorable conditions for such a geographical distribution of the contending class forces, under which the overthrow of the old authorities in one or other of the "depths" or "outlying districts" can take place before they have been overthrown in the main vital centers of the country.

II. WHAT CONDITIONS ARE NECESSARY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INNER SOVIET REGIONS?

The fact that the semi-colonial countries, generally speaking, present the most favorable conditions for such a "geographical distribution" of the contending class forces, under which it becomes possible and advisable to establish inner Soviet regions, by no means, of course, implies that these regions can be established at *any* moment, independent of the general political situation, and of the degree to which the revolutionary forces have been prepared.

First, it is essential that at least in some regions in the country a situation of revolutionary upsurge should

have developed which ensures that broad masses of toilers are rallied for the armed struggle for Soviet Power. Should there be an absence of sufficient revolutionary movement among the masses, *if only in some regions in the country,* attempts at armed uprisings would be of putschist and adventurist character, and would only lead to a useless expenditure of the revolutionary forces, and would compromise the very idea of the armed struggle for Soviet Power. This, however, does not imply that the establishment of inner Soviet regions only becomes possible if there is an *all-national* revolutionary crisis. Herein precisely lies the special feature of the situation in certain countries (primarily *semi-colonial countries*), where the State apparatus is shattered and unstable, namely that here *it is possible* for the revolutionary classes to seize power in *certain* regions *prior to* its becoming directly possible for them to seize power on an *all-national* scale.

Second, what is needed is that a certain coordination should exist between the level attained by the upsurge of the working-class movement and the level attained by that of the peasant movement. Should the working-class movement be very much behind, the establishment of a firm proletarian core in the revolutionary insurgent army would be very much hindered or would even be completely ruled out; the movement of revolt in such a case would be characterized by all the weaknesses inherent in a purely peasant movement (its scattered character, weak organization, etc.). On the other hand, should the peasant movement lag very much behind, and should broad masses of peasants be insufficiently prepared (if only in certain regions in the country) for armed struggle, the construction of a revolutionary insurgent army would, generally speaking, become impossible (for only peasants would constitute the main forces of the revolutionary army).

Third, what is needed is that the movement should be headed by a Communist Party sufficiently firm and able to carry on the struggle, a party whose leadership would ensure that a correct political line is being pursued. Should the opposite be the case, the destruction of the hotbeds of the Soviet movement is absolutely unavoidable. Proof of this is provided particularly by the history of the struggle of the Chinese revolutionary army which came into being in August, 1927, after the military uprising in Nanchan, and headed by the Communists Ye-Tin and Che-Lun. This army was very soon smashed up mainly as a result of the *political* mistakes committed by its leaders, and what was left of it had to undergo a fundamental reorganization before it could develop in close cooperation with other partisan, working-class, and peasant detachments into the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of Soviet China.

The *three* conditions above-mentioned are *absolutely necessary,* and, should they be lacking, the establishment and consolidation of inner Soviet regions are, generally speaking, *impossible.* One could point to a whole number of other political conditions which are not absolutely essential but the existence of which could very much *facilitate* the seizure by the revolutionary classes of various regions in the country, and the establishment by them of an army of insurgents.

Thus, for instance, *a sharp aggravation of inner contradictions in the camp of the ruling classes* could be a very favorable factor, especially in those cases where these contradictions lead to direct armed conflicts and "internal wars" (like the wars between various military cliques in China or the war between the "Paulists" and the supporters of the Vargas government in Brazil in 1932). In such cases the revolutionary discontent of the masses increases, the disorganization of the State apparatus becomes more intensified, there is an increase in the quantity of arms in the country, and the passage to the side of the revolution of whole military detachments in the service of both of the contending bourgeois-landowning camps, etc., becomes facilitated.

A war between different semi-colonial countries (after the fashion of the Peru-Colombia war of 1933 or the Bolivia-Paraguay war which has continued until this day) could be another factor operating in this direction, on condition, of course, that the Communist Party carries on active work to rally and organize the revolutionary forces. In such cases, especially if the war is of a long-drawn-out character, the slogan of the passage of the government troops to the side of the revolutionary insurgents would meet with a favorable response among the soldiers of the contending countries.

In general, if only the necessary political and other conditions are at hand for a wide development of the revolutionary movement, *revolts in the army or navy,* whatever the basis at which they arise, can, if there is only a certain contact between the Communist Party and the insurgents, serve even as the starting point for an armed struggle to establish Soviet regions. If the revolt in the army or fleet has not even set the revolution going on a national scale, then, in any case, the soldiers and sailors in revolt could break into the interior of the country, so that, after uniting there with peasant detachments already in action and taking hold of workers' militia led by the Communists, they could establish inner Soviet regions.

III. "THE OPTIMAL VARIANT" OF THE OPERATIVE BASE IN THE STRUGGLE TO ESTABLISH INNER SOVIET REGIONS

Even in those semi-colonial countries, which, generally speaking, provide the best conditions for the establishment of inner Soviet regions, by no means all regions are to an equal degree favorable for this purpose. *It stands to reason that when preparing* the armed struggle for Soviet Power it is far from

always possible for the Communist Party to "select" one or other district, according to its own wish, *as its main basis for operation!* Much here depends on the concrete development of events which it is not possible to foresee in all its details *in advance.*

Nonetheless, the Party must aim at bringing about the "optimal variant"; it must strive to bring about a situation where the armed struggle develops *as far as possible* in the most favorable regions. If this is not immediately possible, then in any case without tying one's hands with dogmatic consideration and above all carefully bearing in mind the concrete conditions of the struggle, it would nevertheless be advisable to strive to bring about a situation in the near future where the main basis for the revolutionary struggle is transferred from districts which are less favorable to those which are more so, in a corresponding fashion transferring the main kernel of the revolutionary army being established.

But what regions are the most "optimal" as far as the establishment of Soviet territories is concerned?

1. From the general political point of view those districts are the most favorable where broad sections of the population live under conditions of especially severe exploitation. Thus, for instance, in the South and Carribean American countries these are primarily the regions mainly populated by Indian peasants. The establishment of an Indian Soviet region in one of the South and Carribean American countries, on the condition that the action undertaken by the revolutionary army bears the character of a national-liberation war, would thereby draw to the side of the revolutionary army the sympathy of millions of Indian toilers in all the other countries of South and Carribean America.

2. It is highly advisable that a peasant insurgent movement should already be in existence in the districts where it is proposed to establish Soviet Power. Peasant partisan detachments (even small ones) can, if they are assured the necessary political leadership from the Communist Party, serve as the primary core around which will be formed the revolutionary army which will defend the Soviet territory. These detachments will provide cadres of tested fighters who are already acquainted with military affairs, who know the weak sides of their opponents, and who have made a good study of the given region from the military point of view, etc. In addition, these partisan detachments can be utilized from the very first stages of the struggle as the main driving force to bring about the unexpected seizure of military stores, arsenals, etc., which will ensure that the revolutionary army which is being organized will have a certain supply of arms and military supplies; they can also be used to destroy the communications of the government troops, so as to prevent them from concentrating in masses in the district where the armed uprising takes place, and also to win time for the organization of a more or less big revolutionary army.

3. The territory proposed for the organization of Soviet regions should as far as possible be extensive. Should the opposite be the case it would be difficult to ensure that it will be possible for the revolutionary army to maneuver and to retreat, in case the results of the military actions are unfavorable, to a locality which the enemy cannot easily approach.

4. This territory should be so placed that it should as far as possible impede the speedy concentration of the armed forces of the enemy on its borders, as well as disorganize their regular supplies. Should the enemy have well organized communications at their disposal (railways, navigable rivers, sea routes, etc.), the Soviet districts would be exceptionally vulnerable from the blows of the counter-revolution. Thus, for instance, it is generally speaking, inadvisable to establish Soviet regions along the river banks; the enemy would make good use of their own fleet or of the big fleet of the imperialist States and would be in a position systematically to bring forward reserves, make descents on them, and bombard them from the sea, etc. It is well known that the Chinese Red Army, as a rule, avoids advancing along the river banks, but prefers to concentrate its forces in the inner regions of the country.

5. The Soviet territory should as far as possible be placed at a certain distance away from those places in the country where foreign interests are especially powerful (for instance, away from those localities where the most important foreign enterprises and concessions are concentrated). Should the opposite be the case it would be difficult to avoid or even to delay direct armed intervention of the interested imperialist States.

6. The Soviet regions should have their own internal supply base, sufficient to supply both the revolutionary army that protects them as well as the broad sections of the toiling population. Thus, for instance, in those districts which systematically import food supplies (for instance, in districts which are completely devoted to "monoculture" (cultivating one specific product), it would be practically impossible, when a blockade would be inevitable following the organization of the Soviet regions, to feed the revolutionary army and the wide sections of the population. Of course, when establishing Soviet Power it might be possible to pursue a course aiming at the abolition of this "monoculture" and replacing it by "multi-cultured economy" (the cultivation of a number of different kinds of products in a particular region—*Ed.*), but this is a long-drawn-out process which would inevitably be spread over a few years at the very least. A certain pos-

sibility to maneuver exists in such a case, but as a rule districts which are completely mono-cultured are far less favorable for the revolutionary armies carrying on long-drawn-out actions than districts where multi-cultured economy exists.

7. It is highly desirable that there should be at least the most primitive industry in the Soviet regions, to ensure that the arms in the possession of the revolutionary army could at least be repaired, if not actually manufactured, and that the means of transport could also be repaired, etc. Of course such industry (smithies, armaments workshops, etc.) can be established after Soviet Power has been brought into being in one or another district, but this would require at least several months of preparatory work, whereas the revolutionary insurgent army will, as a rule, right from the very beginning, feel the inadequacy of its supply of arms, explosives, etc., and it will not always be possible to cover this deficiency by the military trophies won.

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The question of the selection of a basis for operations can only be concretely solved in the actual process of the struggle in connection with the numerous circumstances which it is impossible to take into account *in advance* in all the details.

But this, of course, does not mean that everything should be left to the mercy of the spontaneous development of events. Events have to be *directed,* the struggle has to be *regulated* and *organized* and *constructed* according to a definite plan. Hence, the conclusion that *efforts must be made to ensure such favorable conditions for the struggle as will facilitate and speed up the victory.*

IV. THE PREPARATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET REGIONS

The preparation of the struggle to establish inner Soviet regions presupposes first and foremost a general intensification of the work of the Communist Party, especially on the territory which is proposed as the basic region of support in the oncoming struggle. Party work should primarily cover the biggest factories in the most important branches of industry, and also the biggest villages, plantations, etc. A mass struggle must be carried on for the partial demands, based on a very wide *united front,* while the treacherous role of the opponents of the Communist Party must be exposed in action, in practice, in the very course of the mass battles, and not only through wordy agitation, etc. In brief, what is needed is that there should be an intensification of the development of the struggle to win over the majority of the working class and wide masses of toilers to the side of the Party. All these points constitute the main pre-conditions for a successful struggle to establish inner Soviet regions.

This, however, does not exclude the necessity for most careful preparation in certain special directions. What does this special preparation consist of?

1. The timely concentration of the best Party organizers, agitators and propagandists on the territory selected as the basis of support for the struggle to establish Soviet regions. The strengthening of the leadership of the Party organizations of the given regions by including the most tested Party elements who have really shown their loyalty to Communism (mainly the best proletarian elements closely linked up with the masses of the workers). The systematic transfer to the given district of big supplies of Party literature (manifestoes, newspapers, pamphlets, etc.).

2. The establishment of direct contact with peasant insurgent detachments, if such are already in action in the given region. The mobilization of a section of the Party members who have some acquaintance with military affairs, and are sufficiently tested politically to be allocated to the partisan detachments in action. The task facing these Party workers is to win, step by step, the confidence of the partisans in action, in the very process of the struggle, in the war situation, and thereby to ensure that the Communists obtain the leadership of the partisan detachments. They must do so, further, so as to give the armed struggle of the partisans a really revolutionary character, by combining it with the current economic and political struggle of the broad masses of the toilers in town and country—and stimulating the partisan detachments to such acts as the destruction of the landowners' police, the seizure of the landowners' stores, and their division amongst the peasants, etc. The establishment of Party nuclei in the peasant detachments. The summoning of conferences of delegates from peasant detachments to elect a central staff or revolutionary committee, including as far as possible representatives from the Communist Party. To give publicity systematically in the Party press to the struggle carried on by the partisan detachments, and to expose the lying campaign of the reactionary press against the insurgents. The organization of mass meetings, demonstrations and strikes in defense of arrested partisans. To carry on systematic agitation among the broad masses of toilers in town and country in favor of joining the peasant detachments.

3. The establishment of workers' defense groups ("fives", "tens", etc.), in the towns, and their systematic military education training. To ensure that there is iron revolutionary discipline in the ranks of the workers' defense groups and that they are subordinate to the leading center. In the period directly preceding the struggle to establish Soviet regions, some of the workers' defense groups may be utilized for individual joint actions along with the peasant

partisan detachments, and to liberate arrested revolutionaries, etc. In the course of time the workers' defense groups become merged in the ranks of the revolutionary army organized on Soviet territory.

4. The intensification of activity among the armed forces of the ruling classes (in the army, fleet, police, etc.) To mobilize especially the most decisive, energetic and politically tested members of the Party for this work. The systematic struggle for the current and direct demands put forward by the masses of soldiers. The main task facing all this activity is to prepare systematically the passage of the armed forces to the side of the revolution in the Soviet region.

5. All members of the Party must be made acquainted with the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding the armed uprising. A study of the corresponding works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism in the whole network of Party educational organizations (in circles, Party schools, etc.). As far as possible to acquaint wider sections in the Party with at least an elementary knowledge of military affairs.

V. THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE SOVIET REGIONS

The military technical plan of the struggle to establish Soviet regions must be so constructed as to take the concrete conditions into account. *Universal recipes would be exceedingly harmful.* In practice a whole series of the most varied alternatives to this plan is possible. It depends exclusively on the local situation, on the concrete situation, whether the struggle to establish Soviet regions begins with a general strike in the towns, and develops into an armed uprising, or whether with the mass seizure by the peasants of the landowners' estates, or as a result of an attack on military stores, arsenals, etc., by peasants, insurrectionary detachments and workers' militia, concentrated beforehand at definite points, or whether it begins following an uprising by the soldiers and sailors, or following on some other incident.

But what is important is that immediately, from the very beginning of the struggle decisively, all the existing forces on whom the leading revolutionary center can calculate, should be immediately drawn into the struggle. Once the struggle has begun the insurgents must advance boldly, all waverings must be cast aside, cowards thrown out of the ranks, and traitors summarily dealt with. Hesitation would be equal to defeat.

On receiving the corresponding instructions from the leading revolutionary center, the peasant partisan detachments, workers' militia and the insurrectionaries among the government troops, etc., must in the shortest possible time hew a way for themselves from the points where they are originally placed, to the territory selected beforehand as the main basis of operations. On their road they must "pass by" the main center of resistance of the enemy, and as far as possible avoid struggle with any big enemy forces, if there are such, and must wipe out any secondary spheres of resistance. At the same time they must make themselves masters of supplies of arms and military stores, destroying all railway lines, bridges, etc., behind them, and increasing their forces by reinforcements from among the toiling population.

After concentrating their forces on the territory previously decided on, the insurgents establish a *revolutionary army* here with a centralized leadership, and ensure the establishment of a *revolutionary government* by the toiling masses of the given territory. If the leaders of the army carry through a correct political line, calculated first and foremost on letting loose a mass revolutionary movement, then the army, basing itself on the broad masses of toilers, will grow into an exceptionally serious force, and *the possibility of maintaining a firm hold on the territory first seized will become quite a real one.* After establishing covering parties on the borders of the Sovietized territory, the leaders of the revolutionary army at the same time adopt "diversion" measures in the rear of the main forces of the enemy advancing on this territory, making special efforts to destroy the latter's communications. After beating off the enemy, the revolutionary army extends the boundaries of the Soviet territory, and expands as a result of reinforcements from the broad sections of the toiling population, and of enemy detachments who come over to its side.

This is the "optimal variant" of the plan of operations. Whether it will be possible to carry this variant into life, or whether it is necessary to alter it under the pressure of the concrete conditions of the struggle, is determined in the actual process of the struggle. In any case efforts must be made to make at least *as close an approach to this "optimal variant" as possible.*

However, it is more than likely that in *actual practice* it will turn out to be a *task beyond their power,* to maintain a firm hold on the territory originally seized. What is more, it would be *a big mistake* if the insurgents were to strive to maintain their hold on this territory *at all costs,* even if it meant expending a big section of their forces in the struggle against the superior forces of the enemy. *The main thing is not the maintenance of the territory but the preservation of the armed cadres of the revolution.* If the revolutionary army is faced by an enemy which has preserved its fighting capacity and which is numerically superior to it, it may have to evacuate the territory originally occupied, and to retreat to other regions less accessible to the enemy. If the armed forces of the revolution are preserved, they will be able without great difficulty to establish themselves on new territory.

After organizing a new center for the Soviet movement, the revolutionary army will renew the struggle, always growing by drawing into its ranks the local toiling population and the enemy detachments who come over to its side. It is possible that, under the pressure of the superior forces of the counter-revolutionary army, it will have to change its territorial base several times, now retreating still further into the interior, at other times returning to territory previously evacuated. In the last analysis, however, if only the political line pursued by the leaders of the Soviet movement is correct, the revolutionary army will undoubtedly be able to beat off the offensive of the enemy, and to consolidate its forces on the territory selected, and then to transform it into a more or less stable center for the Soviet movement.

All this, however, does not mean that, as soon as the enemy appears, the insurgents must immediately evacuate the points occupied without offering any resistance. Such tactics of "permanent evacuation" were applied by the Brazilian insurrectionaries in the years 1924 to 1927 (the so-called "Colonna Prestessa"), who carried through a cavalry raid extending over 75,000 kilometers, with the enemy in the rear practically the whole of the time—a feat unexampled in recent military history. But the "Colonna Prestessa" was under petty-bourgeois leadership, its political line was not really revolutionary, and it was unable to rally around itself the broad masses of the toiling population, and therefore could not calculate on maintaining a firm hold on any definite territory. All that remained for it to do was to keep changing its locality from one end of the huge territory of Brazil to another, with all possible persistence, and to avoid any serious conflicts with the government troops.

As regards a *Soviet* insurgent army, led politically by a Communist Party, it is, of course, not excluded that it might also have, for a certain time, to avoid decisive battle with the armed forces of the counter-revolution. But as soon as it succeeds in unloosing the mass revolutionary movement (and primarily the struggle of the peasantry for the land) in the front and the rear of the advancing enemy, thereby creating a mass base for itself, it would immediately be faced with the real possibility of entrenching itself for a long time without the risk of losing the main cadres of the army in struggles carried on against the superior forces of the enemy.

Thus, in the first phases of the struggle, which precede the firm consolidation of the Soviet territory, the actions of the insurrectionary army must mainly have the character of a *"small" partisan war.* The insurgents develop the maximum of mobility, and under no circumstances concentrate in big masses at fortified points, they transfer the struggle to the open field; they operate in relatively small detachments; they appear simultaneously in the front, on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy; they disorganize, wear out and scatter the enemy's forces, and prevent the enemy from concentrating in big masses. While they *have in view* the perspective of firmly establishing themselves on a definite, previously determined territory, and while making use of every possibility to make this perspective a reality, as soon as possible, the revolutionary forces, however, do not in case of necessity avoid moving from one locality to another, everywhere kindling the flame of the mass revolutionary struggle.

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The extremely rich experience of the establishment and of the struggle of *the Chinese Red Army* shows that the *methods of "little" warfare are the most suitable for a Soviet army which is in the process of establishment.* While avoiding conflicts with the government troops when concentrated at one spot in big masses, and while undertaking a concentrated offensive against them and surrounding them, when the enemy troops were weak, the small newly-formed detachments of the Chinese Red Army were able to defend themselves and to inflict a series of defeats on the enemy. After in this way receiving a certain breathing space, they then developed into a big army, more or less firmly established in definite regions. Of course, they had to retreat on several occasions, and to yield their territory to the enemy, but their *armed cadres* were preserved and saved from destruction. The territory they lost was compensated for by the time they gained which enabled them to extend the small detachments into a big army.

In China the struggle to establish firm Soviet territories extended over quite a lengthy period of time. It was only at the end of the year 1929, and especially at the beginning of the year 1930, that the Soviet movement emerged from its original phase of partisan warfare, and obtained a more or less stable territorial base. But this primary, preparatory phase of "small" warfare was absolutely necessary; without it the powerful Red Army of Soviet China, which has for several years already successfully repulsed the onslaught of the armed forces of the counter-revolution, could not have been brought together.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY REJECTS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS

A Review of *America at the Crossroads*—by David P. Berenberg.
Published by Rand School Press, New York, 1934.

By C. REDMILL

THE author of the book under review, David P. Berenberg, is one of the editors of the official theoretical organ of the Socialist Party of America: *The American Socialist Quarterly* and is parading as a "Marxist" and "Left" leader in the Socialist Party. For example, in the discussion preceding the convention of the Socialist Party, Berenberg very "sharply" criticized the program of the Socialist Party, fearing that the program is not constructed skillfully enough to catch the workers. He is afraid that the program of the Socialist Party has "a certain tenderness for liberal and middle-class elements, and perhaps for certain labor elements that think themselves as middle class".* He is therefore led to conclude that "the workers are alienated by a movement dominated by the wish to placate middle-class liberals".** The author therefore proposed to go "back" to Marx and adopt a program similar to the Communist Manifesto.

One would therefore be led to believe that a book by such a "Left", dealing with such a problem as "America at the Crossroads", would be an attempt to present the problems facing the American working class, at least in a "new" way. But as a matter of fact, it is simply a repetition of the old propaganda of the Socialist Party. The only problem of interest in the book is its attempt to show that the American Socialist Party carries forward the American traditions and that this party has its roots in American soil and has the solution to the problems facing the American workers. The chapters dealing with these problems are entitled "The American Dream", "The Development of American Capitalism", "The American People", "Conditions Making for Socialism", and the "Cross Roads".

This attempt at "Americanization" is of interest to the Communist movement in the United States, especially at this time, because the working class is beginning to look for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. This attempt of Berenberg is another proof that the only inheritor of the revolutionary traditions of America can be and is the Communist Party of the United States, as it has shown in the last period, especially since its Eighth Convention.

In the past the American Communist Party, with few exceptions, on every national holiday, limited itself to propaganda that showed up the bourgeois character of the war for independence and of the Civil War. This is a seeming "Left" position. But actually in the American Communist Party this was an expression of the remnants of its Socialist past. To utilize correctly the revolutionary heritage of the past is a tremendous step in the direction of the Bolshevization of the Communist Party. For only a real revolutionary party, guiding itself by Marxism-Leninism, is interested in educating the working class in the revolutionary traditions of its own country as well as that of the international working class, in order to use these in the revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The Socialist Party, on the contrary, which rejects the proletarian revolution and therefore rejects the class struggle, cannot and does not want to inherit America's revolutionary past.

This is clearly shown in Berenberg's book. In many places in the book there are references to the "tradition of revolt", to "force and violence", etc. But it is interesting to see how the author deals with these questions. For example, on page 42 we find the following:

> "There have been draft riots, bread riots, rent riots, strike riots, *race riots by the hundreds.* Contemplating this record of organized violence, to say nothing of the *many lynchings in the South, North, East and West*, the student of history is forced to the conclusion that there is so much insistence on the American love for law and order, precisely because the American has so little of it. The claim is a wish fulfillment!" (My emphasis—C. R.)

Here the author refers to force and violence, and in one breath, without any differentiation, he bunches together the heroic revolutionary struggles of the past with race riots and lynchings, the most miserable, shameful acts of oppression and white chauvinism on the part of the ruling class.

The author's attempt to classify together these various acts of force and violence is done only in order to discredit the revolutionary traditions. And there are many revolutionary traditions in America's past. For example, in the declaration of the Continental Congress in 1774, we hear the following call to action, a call that sounds almost prophetic to the present-day wage slaves:

**American Socialist Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 38.
***Ibid*, p. 33.

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated masters, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of the contest, and nothing is so dreadful as voluntary slavery."

One cannot help, in this connection, but recall the message of John Brown, the Abolitionist, on the day of his execution, which he succeeded in smuggling out of jail and which will forever remain a call to arms for the oppressed:

"I, John Brown, am now quite *certain* that the crimes of this *guilty* land will never be purged away but with *blood*. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done." (See Woodrow Wilson's *History of the American People*, Vol. VIII.)

Does not this manly courage and the spirit of self-sacrifice in the cause of freeing the Negro nation from slavery inspire one to struggle against capitalism and its lynchings and terror against the Negro and white toilers? It is disgusting to think that this "Left" Socialist classifies the hero of Harper's Ferry with the iron heel of the ruling class and with lynchings. Such calls to struggle for the overthrow of the ruling class, Berenberg tries to discredit by his underhand methods.

The American workers, though, who are interested in the overthrow of wage slavery and of unemployment, misery and starvation imposed upon them by capitalism, have much to learn from the past. The art of organization of revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle reached a high level of development in America. Take, for example, the following description of revolutionary methods given by Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, in 1774:

"A committee is chosen in every county to carry the association of the Congress into execution. . . . *Every city, besides, is arming an independent company to protect their committee and to be employed against the government should occasion require. Not a justice of the peace acts except as a committeeman. Abolishing the courts of justice was the first step taken.*" (My emphasis—C. R.)

Those are the traditions that are not to the liking of a Berenberg or a Socialist Party, but of these traditions the revolutionary workers are proud. They teach the workers that in order to overthrow the ruling class, they must establish themselves as a dictatorship against their oppressors. They teach the lessons of a revolutionary form of struggle.

Berenberg lists (pp. 40-41) the War for Independence, and the Civil War in one lump with the progressive movement of 1912, the LaFollette movement of 1924, and the Roosevelt landslide of 1932. He concludes that they are "revolts all of them". "Aimless, stupid, purposeless, rebellious, most of them!" What an obvious falsification of history it is to try and picture the Roosevelt landslide and the 1924 LaFollette movement (in which the S. P. merged with LaFollette) as revolts. Berenberg, of course, would not call the 1924 LaFollette movement "purposeless" and "stupid". Berenberg himself was an ardent campaigner for Bob LaFollette. What Berenberg really objects to is the fact that those "revolts" were not led by the Socialist Party. Those "revolts" actually express the hopes of Berenberg and his Socialist Party. But those are not the revolts that can overthrow capitalism and establish the working class in power.

* * *

What kind of traditions does Mr. Berenberg propose for us to inherit? In the American traditions of the past there are some that we must claim, there are others that we must reject. The working class rejects the bourgeois content of the movements of the 18th and 19th centuries, but they claim the revolutionary methods and forms of struggle against oppression. The heroism and greatness of the struggles of the past, the Revolutionary War for Independence, Shays' Rebellion, the Abolitionist Movement, the Civil War, etc., are the events that can inspire the working class of the United States to struggle against capitalist oppression and for a new society that will know no oppression of man by man.

The American as well as the European bourgeoisie at one time was a revolutionary class—it, too, had to use revolutionary methods to overthrow national and feudal oppression. "The great men, preparing in France [and America as well—C. R.] the mind for the coming great revolution, themselves acted in the highest degree revolutionary" (Engels). The bourgeoisie, though, could go no further than the establishment of a bourgeois system of society, dependent on the exploitation of the working class. It could, therefore, only replace one rule of class oppression by another. It therefore inevitably became reactionary.

In estimating the revolutionary struggles of the past, Engels stated the following:

"Now we know that the kingdom of reason was no more, no less, than the idealizing of the kingdom of the bourgeoisie, that eternal right, that was then advocated, found its realization in bourgois justice; that government by reason, Rousseau's Contract Social [in America it was advocated and embodied in the Declaration of Independence—C. R.] was embodied in a bourgeois-democratic republic—and could be embodied in nothing else. The great thinkers of the 18th century—like also the thinkers of former centuries—could not surpass the limits imposed by their epoch."

It is these bourgeois traditions, the bourgeois content of the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries,

that Berenberg wants us to inherit. He says on page 92:

> "If, early in their history they [the capitalists—C. R.], too, fought for democratic form of government, they have long since passed beyond the need for them. Now they want to forget the days of their democratic fervor. Now they yearn for the Dictatorship of Capital, for the unquestioned rule of their class. By means of Supreme Court decisions, by the process of injunction, by the increase of the executive power they seek to whittle away our democratic rights. *By innuendo, scorn and mockery they* [the capitalists—C .R.] *seek to undermine the workers' faith in democracy.*
>
> "*If democracy is to live in America, or elsewhere, it must be preserved by the workers.*" (My emphasis—C. R.)

So, we see, Mr. Berenberg wants the workers in America today to preserve bourgeois democracy in the face of the decline of parliamentary democracy, not only to struggle to retain those rights that the bourgeoisie are trying to take away from us, but to defend the system of bourgeois democracy itself. This he proposes instead of using the revolutionary traditions to mobilize and inspire the workers to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and its capitalist class dictatorship as embodied in bourgeois democracy. Berenberg wants us to inherit those traditions which we must reject, the traditions which today have become reactionary.

* * *

Is it true, as Mr. Berenberg states, that the bourgeoisie voluntarily give up their democratic form of government because it is not a dictatorship of capital, "the unquestioned rule of their class", and go over to fascism, which the author pictures as "the revolt of the middle classes"? (p. 77.) Of course it is not true. The reason the bourgeoisie resorts to fascism is because bourgeois democracy, especially during the years of the crisis, is becoming ever more exposed to the workers as a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and because the workers are beginning to seek a revolutionary way out. The bourgeoisie resorts to fascism, to this reactionary, bloody, terroristic rule of monopolist capital, because it is the only method by which they can keep, at least temporarily, the workers from finding a revolutionary way out of the crisis. The working class must struggle with all its power against fascism, which greatly worsens its exploitation and oppression, but it must not do that in order to preserve the rule of the capitalists in another form.

Does that mean that the working class in America must not struggle to preserve those few civil rights that they were still able to retain? On the contrary, the working class must and does struggle to preserve those civil rights. The bourgeois attack against the civil rights gained by the workers is a prelude to the further worsening conditions of the workers, to a lowered standard of living and towards the introduction of fascist terror. But the working class must have no illusions about bourgeois democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the ruling class. In this struggle against fascism and fascization, the revolutionary workers and the Communist Party expose the propaganda of the bourgeoisie by showing what is the class essence of this bourgeois democracy.

In this struggle against the fascization of the American government we can and must also utilize the American revolutionary traditions. The Communist Party does that in the Manifesto published at its Eighth Convention. The Manifesto compares the Declaration of Independence to present-day conditions, and points out that never was there such a mass of people so

> ". . . completely deprived of all semblance of 'the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness'. Never were there such 'destructive' effects upon these rights by 'any form of government', as those exerted today by the existing form of government in the United States. Never have the exploited masses suffered such a 'long train of abuses' or been so 'reduced under absolute despotism' as today under capitalist rule."

Thus they refer to the revolutionary past of the bourgeoisie in order to expose their reactionary present. The Communist Party, though, does not idealize the past of the American bourgeoisie and it does not forget the class character of the American democratic traditions.

The Socialist Party's attempt, however, to inherit the traditions of the past is done, not for the purpose of mobilizing the working class for the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, but is done in order to preserve bourgeois democracy—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

Another central question running through the whole book of Berenberg is his vilification and falsification of Communism and of the achievements of the Soviet Union. In his slander of Communism, he attempts to use the hatred of the workers against fascism. Fascism and the dictatorship of the proletariat are presented as essentially the same, although differing in form. The author then continues to answer the question as to where lies the difference between the Communists and the Socialists. He says:

> "It is in this, that Socialists do not wish to set up a Dictatorship of a few in the name of the workers. They wish rather to set up a government by the workers, for the workers. They desire *workers'* control of industry."

This is nothing but a subterfuge in order to fool the workers.

Berenberg continues his "objective" presentation

of the difference between the Socialists and the Communists in the following manner:

> "There are many differences between Socialists and Communists, but in the end they simmer down to this: that the Communist has no faith in the workers, that he looks upon them as children in need of leadership, and upon himself as their chosen leader. To find salvation they need only to follow him. The Socialist, on the other hand, looks upon the worker as fully able to look after himself and his affairs." (Page 94.)

What is there in back of these phrases, that the Communists have no faith in the workers, that they look upon them "as children in need of leadership", while the Socialists, on the contrary, look upon the worker "as fully able to look after himself and his affairs"? Behind these phrases are those conceptions that Lenin called "tailism", *i.e.*, the desire of the Socialists to drag behind the backward workers instead of being in the vanguard of the proletariat. Behind these phrases of Berenberg is the refusal of the Socialists to struggle against the penetration of bourgeois influence in the ranks of the working class. Berenberg's position means to agree to the subordination of the workers to the leadership of the bourgeoisie and thereby to betray the interests of the working class.

Mr. Berenberg knows well enough that the American workers, not yet acquainted with the revolutionary theories of Marxism and not yet under the leadership of its revolutionary party, are still following the old bourgeois parties and that many of them still belong to company unions. Berenberg also knows that the leadership of the A. F. of L., which is now supported by the leadership of Berenberg's Socialist Party, has and is, by all means, trying to chain the workers to capitalism by trying to keep them from the class struggle. Berenberg knows all of that, but to him it does not matter, for actually, despite words to the contrary, such a theory of "tailism" advocated by Berenberg shows that he does not stand on the position of the class struggle.

The Communists who are honestly struggling to free the workers, know that the working class cannot free itself unless they succeed in smashing the influence of those who bring into the working class bourgeois ideology, unless the ideas of Marxism-Leninism penetrate the consciousness of the masses and unless the working class will have its own devoted revolutionary leadership.

Does that mean that the Communists want to establish "a Dictatorship of a few in the name of the workers", as Berenberg claims? No! The Communists want to, and in the Soviet Union they actually have established a real dictatorship of the working class. But this dictatorship of the working class is possible only if the working class is led by its vanguard, the Communist Party.

What worker who participated with the Communists in strikes, on the picket line, in demonstrations, in trade unions, in hunger marches, in the veterans' movement, in the struggle against war and fascism, in the struggle for civil rights, or any other struggle in which the workers are engaged, will believe this cowardly statement of Berenberg that the Communists have no faith in the workers? The Communist Party rouses the working masses to struggle, because it has faith in them. In the strike struggles, it advocates workers' control while the Socialist Party supports the Greens, the Gormans, and other labor bureaucrats.

Does the S. P. leadership try to hinder, by all means at its disposal, the united front movement of the workers because it has faith in the working class or because it fears the mass movement of the workers? Obviously because of the latter.

Berenberg knows well enough that the C. P. is carrying on a struggle in its ranks against every minute expression of bureaucracy that now and then raises its head in the C. P., because it is an expression of a Social-Democratic lack of faith in the workers. Berenberg's slander is an attempt to discredit the C. P. especially among those workers among whom an urge is being developed for a united front with the Communists. But the bases for the united front in America are so deep-rooted that Mr. Berenberg will not succeed in stopping it by slander.

The Communist Party, as the advanced part of the working class, despite all kinds of terror and oppression, not only speaks of freeing the workers and establishing workers' control of industry, but actually organizes the working class to struggle for it.

> "At the basis of these activities lies the general conviction among Marxists that . . . the worker is the sole and natural representative of the whole of the toiling and exploited population. . . ." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 453.)

The working class learns in the different struggles for its daily bread, in the struggle against unemployment, for its union, in the struggle for civil rights, in the struggle against fascism and war. The Communist Party will keep on being in the forefront of these struggles and fight for rank-and-file leadership in the struggles, and the workers, despite the Berenbergs and the Socialist Party, are beginning to learn that the program of the American Communist Party is the only correct one and are beginning to accept it as their program. The growing tendency for the united front is an indication of this.

Wherein, actually, lies the basic difference between the Socialists and the Communists? The basic difference lies in the fact that the Communist Party points out to the workers that the only way out of the misery and class oppression existing under capitalism, is through the revolutionary overthrow of the

capitalist class and through the raising of "the proletariat to the position of the ruling class" (Marx), *i.e.*, the establishment of its own dictatorship. The Socialist Party, in rejecting the proletarian revolution, in rejecting the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, becomes, although it does not admit it, a defender of bourgeois democracy. The S. P., by thus rejecting the revolutionary struggle, actually paves the way for political reaction. The basic difference, therefore, between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party is that the former, despite words to the contrary, is a defender of decaying capitalism, while the Communist Party struggles for its overthrow and struggles for every immediate demand in the interest of the working masses.

The vilification of Berenberg against Communism reads like statements from the Civic Federation or like those of the infamous Fish. Berenberg, in his attempt to vilify the American Communist Party, slanders the Soviet Union with the old lies spread by the bourgeois and socialist press. The arguments are old, and have been answered time and again.

The book is another proof showing what a great gap exists between some of the "Left" leaders in the Socialist Party and the rank-and-file members of that party, who are at the crossroads and are really and honestly interested in finding a revolutionary way out of the catacomb of capitalism.

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